

**This book is with
tight
Binding**

268 C782 (3)

Keep Your Card in This Pocket

Books will be issued only on presentation of proper library cards.

Unless labeled otherwise, books may be retained for four weeks. Borrowers finding books marked, defaced or mutilated are expected to report same at library desk; otherwise the last borrower will be held responsible for all imperfections discovered.

The card holder is responsible for all books drawn on his card.

Penalty for over-due books 2c a day plus cost of notices.

Lost cards and change of residence must be reported promptly.



PUBLIC LIBRARY

Kansas City, Mo.

Keep Your Card in This Pocket

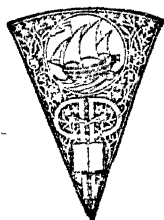
**THE EVOLUTION OF THE
SUNDAY-SCHOOL**

Modern Sunday-school Manuals
EDITED BY CHARLES FOSTER KENT

THE EVOLUTION OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

BY
HENRY FREDERICK COPE

*General Secretary of The Religious
Education Association*



THE PILGRIM PRESS
BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO

Copyright, 1911
BY HENRY FREDERICK COPE

THE • PLIMPTON • PRESS
[W • D • O]
NORWOOD • MASS • U • S • A

PREFACE

Two social institutions in our country have a larger number of servants and expend more money than any others; they are our schools and our churches. Neither can show any material, concrete products, such as we see coming from factories and shops; yet both are absolutely essential to modern social and material welfare. There are many points at which these two institutions come together, but the Sunday-school affords the point of closest contact. It is the church school; it is the expression by the churches of their faith in the method of the schools, and, in America at least, it is the expression by the public of its confidence that the church will in time meet the need for thorough religious education.

The primary aim of this book is to study the development of the Sunday-school with a view to determining whether or not it will be able to meet the serious and steadily increasing demands of the present age. Its past development reveals its capacity for progressive adaptation. We look back that we may the better go forward.

We view the past that we may appreciate the present. We see in the sacrifices that our fathers have made for the progress of the school the call to make its continued progress certain. Over a century and a quarter of definite progress in the Sunday-school demands that none of the effort of the past shall be lost, that returns shall come from all the life investment of the fathers and old-time teachers, and to see to it that when the story of this present transitional era shall be written it may be worth the telling.

A review of Sunday-school history ought also to give the officers and teachers of that institution today valuable help. First, in enabling them to understand the exact aims and character of this institution, and so to come into intelligent and effective relations to it. Second, in giving them encouragement as to its present possibilities and its future progress, by revealing how great is the advance already made. Third, in suggesting for their encouragement and perseverance the tremendous vitality of this institution, showing how it has surmounted obstacles, overcome prejudice and opposition and won its own place in the church, and is today rapidly winning its proper place in our educational system.

The point of view in this brief study is that of the layman rather than of the specialist. It seeks to show how in a perfectly natural manner,

as the result of the outworking of an inner principle of education and not as a consequence of any propaganda or any demands from without, an institution of large influence and importance has developed. It assumes that the history of the Sunday-school is a subject of sufficient general interest and importance to justify this discussion. It is true that there are many persons to whom the Sunday-school is either a matter of indifference or of derision because of its many failures and its general inefficiency. But this study of its history should suggest that we cannot afford to neglect so influential an institution and that we should be patient with it, for it is still in process of development.

The author disclaims any purpose of comprehending the whole field of religious education in the story of its development. He has, however, endeavored to prepare an original study, depending on reliable and, as far as possible, on primary sources for the facts given.

CHICAGO, 1911.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I THE GENESIS OF THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL	3
II IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH	14
III LIGHTS IN THE GLOOM	29
IV ROBERT RAIKES	47
V EARLY SCHOOLS IN NORTH AMERICA	59
VI THE ADOPTION OF THE SCHOOL BY THE CHURCH	68
VII DEVELOPMENT THROUGH ORGANIZATIONS	80
VIII THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION	91
IX THE STORY OF THE LESSON SYSTEM	101
X THE PERIOD OF INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT.	128
XI CAUSES AND FACTORS IN RECENT DEVELOPMENT.	136
XII THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEACHER	154
XIII THE SCHOOL FOR ADULTS	174
XIV THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL AND BIBLE STUDY	182
XV THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL AND LIBRARIES	198
XVI THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION	201
XVII PARALLEL LINES OF PROGRESS	212
QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW	220
A LIST OF HELPFUL BOOKS FOR FURTHER STUDY	231

**THE EVOLUTION OF THE
SUNDAY SCHOOL**

I

THE GENESIS OF THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL

The Sunday-school of the twentieth century is distinctly a modern educational institution.

Yet it is not a recent invention. It is one of the most interesting examples of the gradual elaboration and perfection of a type of organization to meet certain needs. It has developed because religion has developed. The school is the answer of the church to the fundamental demand for religious education. If our religion means entering into a larger, finer life and the realization of a better social order, we are bound not only to seek education but also to make education possible to all others. We cannot have the Kingdom until men learn the life of the Kingdom; it can come only as they are trained in its ways and inspired with its ideals. The supreme message of Christianity is that man is the child of God, born of a divine family, intended to grow into the fulness of divine relationship and likeness. The sublime hope and essential meaning

4 EVOLUTION OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL

of the religious life is that personality may develop into a fulness which we cannot yet measure. The great religious purpose of life is personal and social development. Hence the aim of every religious institution should be the development of character to fulness and efficiency under the best social conditions.

The Sunday-school is rooted in this essential conception of religion as a life of developing personality. The first chapter of Sunday-school history began when man turned his face to this larger life and sought meaning in a world greater than that which he could see and touch. In its simplest form the essential principle embodied in the Sunday-school can therefore be traced even in the earliest records of the history of religion. The savage gave personality to all objects. The trees, grasses, wind, all in his thoughts were possessed of mind or spirit. He believed in a great world outside himself and his fellows, the world of beings who caused the trees to shake in the wind and the rivers to flow. His wise men were those who held the secret of this world of spirits. Beyond such training as the home or the clan might give to the youth in the use of tools and the implements of the chase the really important, practically the only subjects of his instruction, were those that related to that great,

shadowy, and usually dreadful world of spirits. Such instruction was more formal than his everyday training in the family and the chase, and so those who instructed him in his religion were his first recognized teachers.

The earliest development of a great religion and a great civilization took place in the Nile valley. The people who worked out In Egypt a calendar of 365 days as far back as 4000 B.C., who erected the great tombs, temples, and pyramids, and who wrote many books, did not neglect education. We have today the recorded wisdom of their teachers. During Egypt's greatest splendor the priestly class was dominant and education was largely religious in character. The priests were the teachers and the temple schools were open to any who could pay even a small sum.

Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia, Persia, and India developed religious institutions and systems of thought. Inscriptions on the rocks, Assyria, India, and China tablets, monuments, and codes of law recently discovered tell of teachers and schools and even suggest the subjects of study. Their religious life gave birth to and maintained their educational endeavors. Chinese history also reveals the early development of religious ideas. Their tradition tells of schools as early as 2400 B.C., but there is no reliable

evidence of a systematic educational movement before Confucius (550-458 B.C.). The system of ethics known by his name was gathered from the ancient religious teachings. It became the official code of all Chinese life. The extensive imperial educational scheme of China sought to make pupils familiar with this code. In recent years China has introduced the Bible into the literary studies required of all who seek official rank. She is also seeking to work out an educational plan under the direction of Christian experts.

With the Spartans religion was to live for the state. All the education of the youth was in hardihood and courage. In early Greece Athens the songs of the poets dealing with legends of origins and with the deeds of ancient heroes furnished the material for moral and religious instruction. When the simple, old nature-religion no longer sufficed, philosophical interest developed. Great teachers arose. Socrates and Plato enunciated the educational ideals recorded in *The Republic*. Their teachings and those of Aristotle were principally concerned with the questions of morals, with the right relations between men. Their works reveal the large place which practical righteousness had in Greek education.

The early Roman carried his faith in gods and

spirits into all his life. Every act had a sacred significance, whether sowing the wheat or lighting the fire in the home. Hence every act was a part of his religious education. But loyalty, patriotism, citizenship, were also religious duties, and the Roman youth was specifically taught these duties. Cato wrote a pamphlet on *How to Educate Children*. Schools were established in Rome about the end of the third century before Christ. The ideals of Roman education, and especially of moral training, are perhaps seen at their best in the writings of Quintilian (A.D. 35-95). Plutarch in his *Morals* gives many passages on the quickening of conscience and on moral education.

In an important sense all Hebrew religious life must be regarded as educational in intent and character. An educational purpose is revealed in the explanation which the writer gives in the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy to the imaginary question: To what end are all these signs, ordinances, sacrifices, and feasts? (Read Deut. 6:7-9, 19-25.) Such observances, and particularly such direct teaching at parent's knee and through household and social customs, constitute the finest and most effective kind of religious education. Throughout the history of this people religious education began for the Hebrew child where it ought to

Among
the Early
Hebrews

begin for all children — that is, in the home. This continued to be the case even when formal institutions of learning were well established. That the educational process was not wholly one of verbal instruction is evident from such side-lights as Deuteronomy 8:5 and from references in Proverbs to careful discipline and to household services and duties.

Popular education took its rise in the endeavor to make the law the guiding force in national and social life. The religious traditions and literature of the Jews became the great object of study in homes and public gatherings. The literary revival which followed the exile was like a new lease of life, and from it can be traced almost all the later vigorous educational activity of Israel. The scribe, the educator and interpreter of the law, was the teacher of the people. Along with the scribe the synagogue must be recognized as one of the Old Testament forerunners of the Sunday-school. It is of importance for our study because it was not only the place at which the writings were read and expounded on the Sabbath and at other stated occasions, but because it became the local center of the educational life of the people, and, in time, literally the public schoolhouse. The regular synagogue service itself was almost an exact prototype of the early Sunday-school.

Popular
Education
among the
Jews

The service consisted of the public recitation of passages calling on the people to remember the Law and the words of Jehovah, the reading of parts of the Law and parts of the Prophets, the offering of prayer, and the giving of a formal benediction. The Scriptures were read in the ancient tongue, and a translation into the popular dialect given, followed by a popular exposition. It is said that teachers were first regularly employed in Jerusalem about 80 B.C., by Simon Ben She-tach, called the father of systematic education in Judea. But many doubts surround the account of his work. The high priest Joshua Ben Gamla is also credited with a similar service. At the end of the Roman period the first clear evidence appears of a fairly well organized, comprehensive system of Jewish education in operation, one teacher being provided for each twenty-five boys in a village and an assistant whenever the number of boys reached forty.

In all these schools the material of instruction was almost exclusively religious. Josephus boasted of the training which Jewish youth received in the Law (Contra Apion, 1:12, 11:18-25). He also described the regular meetings for hearing and learning the law and gave specific examples of incredible verbal accuracy in repeating the law. Leipziger states that the work of memorizing the

Religious
Nature of
the Studies

Scriptures was seriously begun with each child at the age of three; but the emphasis, in thinking of this period, should be not on the specific examples of formal instruction but on the great fact that the whole life of the people was so infused with the spirit of religion that they were impelled to teach it to their children. To them religion was not a part or a division or aspect of life; it was so truly the whole of life that education could not possibly be considered apart from it.

The teaching of religion in regular institutions was fairly well established by the time of Christ.

The Jewish School As a matter of course, he both learned

in the synagogue schools and himself taught in them. Three kinds of religious schools were probably in existence at this time; the elementary village schools, the synagogue schools, and the classes or groups for higher instruction meeting under the direction of such teachers as Hillel and Shammai. The subjects of study had not changed greatly from those in the later Old Testament, at least in the elementary and synagogue schools. The pupils were still drilled in the Law, the Mishna or interpretations, and the traditions of the law. If we may believe the rabbinical authorities the curriculum of the schools was fairly definitely fixed: from the age of five to ten, the Law, without comment, beginning with Leviticus and taking the historical portions

later; from ten to fifteen, the unwritten traditions, the Mishna, the endless elucidations of the Law by the rabbis, the comments of their followers, the comments of those who commented on earlier commentators, the expositions of expositions, in many cases the darkening of words without knowledge. At fifteen years of age, the pupil was free to dispute with the doctors and to attend the higher schools.

Conditions were far from being ideal, as they are sometimes pictured. The groups of boys sat on the beaten dirt floor. Only boys were present; no girls were permitted to receive religious instruction outside the home. The teaching was, in at least the greater number of instances, by rote, largely mechanical, a process of memorizing.

The ministry of Jesus was preeminently a teaching ministry. While John the Baptist is always spoken of as a preacher, Jesus the Teacher is said to have preached and taught. There are many more examples of his work as a teacher than as a preacher. The parables reveal his supreme skill as a pedagogue. He laid emphasis on teaching the young and on personal, practical instruction. He sent into the work a body of indomitable teachers. Jesus adapted his method to the conditions in which he found himself; he accepted the institutions

and means nearest at hand, as the synagogue, the street group, and the working group. If the modern Sunday-school teacher would follow Jesus here he will often be found walking in the fields with his class; he will lead to thoughts of God by way of his flowers and his folk. The school that follows this teacher will not be content with weekly meetings for formal instruction, but play and social life, and even business and toil will be used as pathways to higher life.

This brief survey of the beginnings in religious education suggests three conclusions: First, that the imperative need of training the youth for useful living and for the right kind of living in relation to others — either gods or men — compelled all early peoples to make some provision for education. Second, that all early education was largely religious because religion was not a separate subject of study but permeated all life. Where religion was national and where nations were homogeneous, religious education was a national duty, and those questions which perplex us as to the separation of public and religious education simply did not arise. Third, that the modern conception of education as a social duty, an obligation which we owe to all, came to full development under Christianity. Christianity is essentially a religion of education, it gives hope for a larger, better

life here; it bids man become a nobler being; it awakens in him the sense of his godlike possibilities, and it lays on every man the duty of leading his fellows into self-realization. It makes me my brother's keeper and therefore responsible for his complete development. With its grand social conceptions of a right world where peace reigns, where good-will rules, where one great family lives with the divine Father over all, it lays on us the imperative command to touch and to train every life, to lead all to know the laws of the divine order, and to acquire by training and education, the habits of the heavenly family here on earth.

II

IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH

CHRISTIANITY began and spread by teaching. A missionary religion must teach. The method of the apostles was essentially the Church Leaders method of the Great Teacher. Paul in his hired house at Rome spent the greater part of his time instructing groups of inquirers and individuals who came to him. He conducted a school of the new faith which met every day and at all hours. Other passages give very clear pictures of the early Christians meeting frequently, usually in the house of one of their number, and spending the time in talking over the new faith and in worship. It is easy to see that such meetings were really schools, and that, either in them or by other means, the youth were gathered in groups for definite instruction. The early leaders of the churches quickly recognized the importance of training the young in religious knowledge. The Church Fathers, both Greek and Latin, have much to say regarding the teaching of children. The absence of descriptions of special institutions

for this work occasions no surprise, for this was the period when the new life had not yet formed for itself institutional channels; it was adapting itself also to great political changes and to a new world order.

It would be futile to attempt to prove that the early Christians had formal institutions, under **Three Lines of Descent** the care of the churches, which corresponded to our Sunday-schools. The pedigree of the Sunday-school is to be traced in principles rather than in institutions. It is seen in the practical expression of the principle of the religious instruction of the young. Early Christianity made provision for this instruction in at least three ways: (1) in the home, (2) in the synagogue schools, and (3) in the catechetical schools. None of the plans was new. Each was the continuance and natural development of methods which had been used among the Jews. Gentiles would find them at first not greatly different from customs with which they were familiar.

The New Testament gives glimpses of the religious life in the home. Timothy was by no means the only youth instructed in **In Jewish Homes** the Scriptures from early childhood. In Jewish homes the obligation to repeat the words of the law was still recognized. All the ancient lore, the hero stories, and the literary

and historical instruction of the child by father and by mother were religious in character and subject. Despite the development of traditionalism among the professional religious leaders, the life of the people was for the most part genuinely religious. Besides direct teaching in the home the domestic religious customs and observances were of great pedagogic value. In homes that remained Jewish in faith the fasts and the feasts were observed and diligent efforts were made to instruct the children regarding their meaning. Such homes kept alive the ardor of the old faith and made the glorious past real to youth. In families that became Christian there was no immediate break with old customs. Even when the observances ceased it was necessary to explain their ancient meaning. The reading or at least the repetition and memorizing of the Old Testament passages continued in both kinds of homes. The Jewish heritage was the heritage of all and they gloried in it.

In the Jewish-Christian home the child received instruction in Christian facts and ideals in the most effective manner. The wonder of the new faith made it the all-absorbing subject of conversation. All life centered about it. They learned to know Christian history and teaching as children in American homes in the years 1860-1866 learned to know the

In Jewish-Christian Homes

history of the Civil War. This was equally true in Gentile Christian homes, for they were equally near to and interested in the events.

Religious teaching was not neglected in the pagan home. The Greeks and the Romans loved their children. We must not judge hastily from a few shocking examples; not all Roman fathers exposed their children to die or even desired to do so. In the later period of the Roman Empire corruption and luxury undermined the homes of the upper classes and prepared the way for the fall of the empire. At the end of the first century the wealthy left the instruction of children to nurses and slaves. But such homes were no more typical than are similar ones in this country today. Quintilian, who lived 35 to 95 A.D., pleads for the early instruction of the child. He emphasizes the duty of moral training. He says that instruction should begin in the cradle, "as soon as a son is born." "Let us not lose even the earliest period of life." He reminds us of Plato and Socrates: "Beginning is the chiefest part, especially in a young and tender thing." The special teachings of Jesus on the value of the little child and his place in the kingdom led the Gentile Christians to set a new value on elementary education.

The life of the home flowed into the early Christian meetings. Frequently the converts

gathered in homes. Congregations were designated by the home at which they usually met. Agree-
 The Family able to Jewish custom, it was expected
 at Meeting that the whole household would follow the parents in allegiance to the new faith. There was definite consciousness of family relation to that faith. The children went often with their parents to the gatherings. Little groups of families wended their way to their meeting-places. They came at first openly and later secretly for fear of persecution. Meeting in houses, barns, deserted quarries, under the stars, in the catacombs, at any place where in the zeal of this new faith men and women might congregate, the hymn of praise arose, copies of the letters of the apostle were read again and again, and one and another asked questions or told of his experience or hope. How eagerly the little children, standing by their parents, listened to all that was said, and with what interest they inquired further concerning those wonderful stories!

The early meetings were informal in character. They corresponded more closely to a large mixed
 Church Sunday-school class than to a modern
 Service: church service. The utmost freedom of action prevailed. Questions were both asked and answered by the audience. The preacher was really the leader of the class. One writer

on early Christian preaching, Paniel, designates these services as "a mode of instruction which arose from the familiar interplay of inquiry among the members of the congregation."¹ He goes on to describe the preacher as depending on the questions and answers of the congregation for guidance in his words. This was indeed a pedagogical method; the teacher discovered the content of the pupils' minds before attempting to teach. There are in existence "homilies," as they were called, free transcripts of the remarks made on both sides in these interlocutory services. The narratives and accounts of the addresses made by Paul and others show that this method was common with them. The congregation regarded itself somewhat as a class; they were not listening to a formal lecture, still less to a sermon; they were at liberty to ask questions, to assent and even dissent from what was being said. It is interesting to note that the church, even in its public services, once gathered more as a class than as an audience, and that those early meetings were efficient educationally for both young and old.

It is important to keep in mind the fact of the close connection between the old and the new in

¹ Paniel, Karl F. W., in *Pragmatische Geschichte der Christlichen Beredsamkeit* (Leipsic, 1839), quoted by Trumbull, in *Yale Lectures on Sunday-Schools*, p. 53.

the beginnings of Christian history. There was no sudden break. In the early days a family converted to Christianity from Judaism would make few changes in its customs. They would go to the synagogue and the children went to the synagogue school. In fact, Christian teachers taught in the synagogues in many places. There were no new formal organizations for school purposes. The customs already in use met all needs. The early Christian church consisted so largely of Jews, who continued the instruction of their children by reading and study of the Old Testament, and also of those who were largely influenced by such Jewish customs, that it is not strange that nothing is heard of special institutions for Christian instruction. The old ways sufficed for both Jews and Christians until persecution drove the latter from the synagogues.

The synagogue schools were to be found almost everywhere through the Roman world. Borne along by their recently awakened commercial spirit the Jews had gone everywhere, and in all places had established their meeting houses. Wherever Jews lived they maintained their daily schools for the religious instruction of the young. Jewish Christians sent their children to these schools. All the early letters assume the familiarity of the people

with the facts of Hebrew history. In the first century for the greater number of Christians the Sunday-school met every day of the week.

By the end of the first century the Christians were recognizing the need for special institutions for the instruction of their children. **Beginning of New Schools** The growing hostility of the Jews, bitter persecution, and the consciousness that the new faith was wholly separate from any other emphasized the necessity of distinct Christian schools. They developed under at least two influences: (1) the usage of the synagogue schools and (2) the fact that some of the new leaders in the life of the church were scholastics, trained in the Greek schools. The early Fathers did not repudiate learning. They acknowledged their indebtedness to the higher schools of the pagan world. They sought all the essential advantages of that culture for those who were to do responsible work in the churches.¹ Perhaps the schools for children grew up around the groups of men gathered for higher education under Christian auspices or being trained for religious services. It is possible that parents demanded of these teachers that they should continue for their children the work of the masters in the synagogue schools.

¹ See *Primitive Christian Education*, G. Hodgson.

The earliest regular school for Christian teaching of which there is clear evidence was at Alexandria. That ancient city was in many ways the natural center for such a beginning. It had a glorious intellectual past. It was the home of a very large Christian community, quite different in culture and thinking from those in Judea. Intellectually, the Alexandrians were Greek Christians. They saw Christianity in the light of Greek philosophy and interpreted the one by the other. They were prepared to recognize the advantage of new schools and of definite forms of instruction. Alexandria had long been the home of scholars and a city of schools. The origin of the Alexandrian school is uncertain. We are indebted to Jerome for almost all our information. At first it was a school for adults, a theological seminary. Probably there were gatherings of Christian thinkers, philosophers, and teachers in that city of learning early in the second century. One hundred years later, A.D. 203, we know that this school gave the child his rightful place. At the age of eighteen, Origen (A.D. 185-254), a student in this theological seminary, went out into the city of Alexandria and gathered the children from the many churches. He organized them into groups for instruction. Before long the bishop of Alexandria very properly appointed him head of

these schools for children. They were called catechetical schools. The new work compelled Origen to give up his secular teaching. He refused pay for religious teaching and, in order that he might not starve, he sold his library for an annuity of a little over ten cents a day.

The catechetical schools were for those who were to be admitted to the church. The pupils ^{Catechetical} ^{Schools} were instructed with great care in the doctrines of the church and in the history of their faith. All candidates received the instruction, so that the schools included adults as well as children. But Origen's primary interest was in the children. The name "catechetical schools" must not mislead us into thinking of them as existing to teach some formal catechism. It refers rather to the fact that the instruction was exceedingly careful, systematic, and graded according to the development of the pupil and his progress toward full admission into the church.

These early schools probably included a large proportion of the Christians in their communities.

^{Gradation} The students were divided into at least four grades or stages of instruction. The first grade was composed of those who were simply inquirers, receiving instruction in small classes. These included the younger children as well as the new converts. The second grade

was called that of the "hearers." They had no part whatever in the services of worship in the church except as listeners. They left the church when the sermon and Scripture reading was ended. It is probable that they then retired to classes in the corridors or outside the church. The third grade was that of the "worshippers," who had a part in the prayers and ceremonies of the church. The fourth division corresponded to the graduate classes, the "electi," who were ready for baptism. Unfortunately, many preferred to remain in this last class until death drew near, so that baptism might confer on them the supposed benefits of a final unction.

The young were instructed in this manner not only in Alexandria but in the churches throughout the Church out Gentile Christendom. Christian as a School tradition supports this statement. Christian art shows the children being prepared. Many incidental allusions establish the fact that in the churches outside of Judea there were always classes for the training of the young in the religious life. If, as the testimony of the Fathers shows, the method of question and answer was used to train the heathen for church membership, it is not likely that the church would fail to use this method to bring all her children into that relation. The architectural form of many ancient churches indicates special provision for purposes

of instruction. Many edifices were arranged so that it would be possible for the first two grades to leave the congregation and quickly go to the colonnades and there assemble in classes.

From all the allusions to these schools we can gather: (1) that the students were principally those who were preparing for admission to the church, although many others who needed this instruction were included; (2) that the course of study was roughly graded and covered from two to four years; (3) that the subjects included sacred history, Jewish customs, memorizing the Scriptures, the great Christian doctrines, and the teachings of Jesus; (4) that the method of teaching was in classes, often by laymen and women and by students; (5) that the text-book material included the books of the Old Testament, religious poems (possibly the forerunners of some of the ancient hymns), and in time some of the letters and other material of the New Testament. If the churches had continued to recognize the importance of training the young, had adopted suitable methods as they arose, and had paid as much attention thereto as the influential leaders did in the third and fourth centuries we might have had a different tale to tell today.

Side by side with the catechetical schools, an extensive system of general education gradually

grew up under the care of the churches. These schools were not only religious in character but on a religious basis, with religious subjects as the principal elements in the curriculum. Such a remarkable development of early education took place under the fostering care of Christianity, that the Emperor Julian, at the time of the pagan reaction against Christianity, recognized its importance by issuing the famous decree taking education out of the hands of the Christians and the churches and placing it under the direction of the Roman state.

The school at Alexandria is best known in its wider sphere of general theological education. It has been called the fountain of theological education, for here was gradually developed an institution which trained many distinguished men for religious services. Clement (160-215 A.D.) was one of the pupils at this seminary, and so was his disciple Origen. We are indebted to Jerome for the picture of Origen, the theological student of eighteen years of age, going through Alexandria, organizing children into classes and instructing them. The theological seminary of that day was using the laboratory method which the seminary of this day is again beginning to adopt. Origen was the forerunner of the young man or woman training for Christian service who learns

by doing, who meets the real and practical problems of religious education while in preparation for that work, and who puts into present practice the instruction received in the class room. Clement left many interesting works. Perhaps the most illuminating are his *Pedagogue* and his *Address to the Greeks*. These show both the system used in the Christian schools and the content of the teaching. The *Pedagogue* states that the teaching included not only the Scriptures and theology, but such practical matters as hygiene, dress, manners, and everyday morals. Those early teachers regarded their work with the young as broader than instruction in the facts of biblical history. They sought to train for the whole of the religious life.

The most notable large schools in Christendom, besides Alexandria, were those at Jerusalem and Antioch. These were more like the-
Extension logical seminaries, but they became centers for the many elementary schools in connection with the churches. For two or three hundred years the school for the religious education of youth continued to be a part of the church. Through Asia Minor and Egypt there were many such schools. When Gregory the Illuminator began to evangelize Armenia he established a system of schools throughout all his field and required attendance at them.

The catechetical schools show that Christianity was not merely the friend but also the mother of education in the modern sense. **Christianity and Education** They prove that the Christian church and the school are inseparable in spirit and essential the one to the other. They indicate that the church early recognized the educational method in the development of the religious life. They are prophetic of the Sunday-school, which has only recently been recognized as an essential part of every modern church. They suggest emphatically that when Christianity had all the vigor and freshness of a new life in the world and when it had to meet its most serious organized, racial, and political opposition, its leaders depended largely on educational processes, its ranks were recruited, and its own people saved to itself by Christian nurture.

III

LIGHTS IN THE GLOOM

THE story of religious education during the medieval period is quite inseparable from the history of general education. All education was conducted by religious agencies. The subjects of study were naturally religious. The activities of education centered in the cities about the cathedrals and great churches and in other places about the monasteries. There was no general, comprehensive scheme of education for the people. For a long time the church looked with suspicion on attempts to extend learning beyond the monks and the clergy. Many of the latter, especially those engaged in parish duties, were sadly ignorant. In the monasteries classic learning was preserved; in some instances the monks took pains to teach some of the poor.

In 782 Charlemagne called Alcuin, a monk of York, England, to direct the organization of education in the Empire. He called Charle-
magne attention to the ignorance of the clergy. But he also established village schools, which were taught by the priests and were open to all.

Alcuin came to the court of Charlemagne from scenes of religious interest in education in England. There schools had already been established which were intended for those outside the clergy. These, which were the mothers of the great universities of our day, were all religious schools. Canterbury was originally a school attached to a monastery. In the seventh century it was made famous by the teaching of Theodore and later by that of the abbot Hadrian. Then classical studies were added to the theological and biblical. The great school at York was founded on the same basis in the next century. (See *A History of the Church of England*, Patterson, p. 29.) The school at Jarrow won fame through the work of "the Venerable Bede," and his pupil Egbert, afterwards Archbishop of York, founded the celebrated school in his own city. Alfred the Great of England, lamenting the decline of religion in his kingdom — saying there was not a single priest in the country south of the Thames — sought a remedy in education. He established a school at his court for the sons of the nobility and urged that all the freeborn youth of the land be taught the rudiments of English and Latin. He established additional monasteries with schools and sent abroad for religious teachers for them and for the schools at the older institutions. After

the invasion by the Danes many of the monastery schools were restored by the Benedictine monks.

The rise of the great universities contributed to important changes. These universities, quite different from our modern institutions, were really free associations of students grouping themselves about great and attractive teachers. The first was at Salerno, near Naples.

The University of Paris, the mother of modern liberal culture, took its rise in the fact that such ^{The} teachers as Roscellinus, Peter Abelard ^{Universities} and William of Champeaux lectured and reasoned in Paris and drew about them inquiring minds from all over Europe. Large numbers of young men, anxious to pursue the studies they had begun independently in religion and philosophy, came to these teachers. They met in open spaces, in hired rooms, or wherever they could. They paid their instructors just as, for example, the Jewish seekers after knowledge paid Hillel. Emerton says: "It is in these early efforts of the human mind to work out, in what seemed a scientific fashion, the great problems of faith and thought, that we find the beginnings of modern, systematic, higher education."¹

While men hungry for religious and philosophical truth were flocking to the university cities, to Paris, Cologne, Bologna, and Florence, how

¹ Emerton, *Mediaeval Europe*, p. 452.

were the laymen, the common people, the parents and children in the country and the villages faring ^{Among the} for religious knowledge? They were ^{People} not wholly destitute of such knowledge, and yet how was it circulated? The common statement that the people lay in absolute ignorance is unsatisfactory, for out of that mass of ignorance rose many fair and illuminating lives. The saints of the church in that period are not to be dismissed as humbugs or as weak and impossible characters. Somehow they found food for the higher life. Religion was taught even in the darkest days. Although all regular church services were conducted in Latin and all preaching was in that tongue, there was much intercourse between priest and people, while the monks and traveling friars constantly conversed with the village folk. Many records exist of story-telling by these travelers and of popular paraphrasing of the Gospel narratives, as well as of several quaint attempts at the presentation of religious truths by means of crude parables suited to the uneducated mind.

One effective means of popularizing religious knowledge was used by the class of men known ^{Wandering} as "wandering scholars." Almost any ^{Scholars} student at the university cities was likely to be a wanderer, going from one famous teacher in this city to another in that. Like

the Hindu story-tellers and learned men, they often gathered the village folk about them and, in return for hospitality, told in simple terms what they had seen and heard. Their lives may have been not ideal, but their teaching was still on the subject of religion, for at this time "the Christian religion had become the leading subject of men's thoughts, and divines had put forth its claims to be — a Philosophy in the widest sense in which the term is used."¹

The wandering friars popularized religious education in the thirteenth century. The Francis-
 The Wan-
 dering Friars cans, Dominicans, and other orders were free to go anywhere, as "pilgrims and strangers," on works of mercy. They mingled freely with the people and taught them. Their liberty permitted the development of a much more liberal culture than was found in the monastic orders.

One other influence must be mentioned briefly, the reform of the monasteries under the leadership of Bernard of Clairvaux and other
 Monasteries great souls. These institutions, once repositories of learning and active in the religious education of the young had, in many places, become nests of vice and luxury. But Bernard founded his great school and his associates, with their intense devotion and mysticism, secured a

¹ Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences*.

large measure of reform in the monasteries so that many became efficient teaching agencies.

Gerard Groot (1340-1384) founded an order of evangelists of unusual religious zeal known as

the Brethren of the Common Life.
 Brethren of the Common Life They established houses of devotion in which converts lived under monastic

conditions, but in a manner intended as a protest against the laxities common in monasteries. These devout and industrious lay communities met with the bitter opposition of the friars who were living in luxury and sloth. The new houses soon became teaching centers. Very early many boys were attracted and received religious instruction. At some of the schools more than a thousand boys were in attendance. Many of these also went to other schools for secular learning. Thomas à Kempis was one of their students. These schools took rank with the best educational institutions of the age, and this body of learned and godly men, engaged in teaching religion to the youth, played no small part in preparing the way for the new day in Germany.

In the counter-reformation the schools of the Brethren came under the control of the Jesuits; but they had done their splendid work. (See the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, and also lives of Groot and Florentius.)

In England, during the latter medieval period,

the education of youth passed very largely from the monasteries. But it did not pass from Parish under religious auspices; the church Schools was still the great educational agency. The parish priests conducted various kinds of elementary schools. Some were parochial schools of considerable dignity; others were simply little gatherings of children to gain such learning as the priest might be able to impart. The instruction was almost wholly religious, or at least biblical and doctrinal. Even the study of languages centered about the religious writings.

The schools of more advanced grade, as "grammar schools," were usually attached to the abbeys, Grammar to cathedrals, or to churches. The Schools great schools were at Winchester and Eton. The former was founded by William of Wykeham in 1378 for the education of youth for religious service. Like the other great English schools, it was intended for the "commoners" and for poor boys as well as for the nobility who, in later years, practically usurped the privileges of the other classes. Eton was founded by Henry VI in the next century.

Erasmus, born in Rotterdam in 1467, was one of the finest scholars of his time and one of the educational beacon lights of the new Erasmus age. He wrote a great deal on education. He held that religious nurture was of first

importance. He was wise enough to see that the most important consideration of all was not the amount of information regarding religious history or literature which the child might receive, but the impressions, ideals, and examples which were given to him.

The great German reformer, Luther, stood for the open way to God, the way made free from stumbling blocks set up by ecclesiasticism. But men must be taught the way. In the year 1524, the year in which he published his *First German Hymn Book*, he prepared his first catechism for children. Somewhere about this time he began to call attention to the need for the religious instruction of children. He saw that the young must learn the Scriptures, if ever religious truth was to be a common possession of the people. Accordingly, as D'Aubigne says, he made this one of the objects of his life. Under their civic conditions students could be taught the Scriptures in the day schools. Therefore he began to stimulate public opinion to appreciate the advantages of general elementary education. He sent an address to the councilors of the German cities: "Dear sirs; we annually spend so much on arquebuses, roads, and dikes, why should we not spend a little to give one or two schoolmasters to our poor children. Forget not the poor youth. The strength

of a city does not consist in the number of its towers and buildings, but in counting a great number of learned, serious, and well-educated citizens." Again, "For the church's sake Christian schools must be established and maintained." "Is it not reasonable," he asks, "that every Christian should know the Gospels at the age of nine or ten?" "In schools of all kinds the chief and most common lessons should be the Scriptures." The Reformer's recommendation for scriptural teaching in all schools would be feasible then in Germany, as it would not be today in America. Luther also did tremendous service for religious education in translating the Bible into his own tongue. Even in that day a half million copies went into circulation in a very short time. Some of the other educational ideals of Luther included domestic religious training, vocational training, particularly in home duties and in trades, free libraries, and teacher training. (See D'Aubigne, and Painter's *History of Education*; also Graves, *A History of Education*, Vol. II.)

Francis Xavier (1506-1552), the disciple of Ignatius Loyola, is known for his splendid missionary zeal; but he also corrected one error of the Jesuit schools, their neglect of children. He is credited with the saying, "Give me the children until they are seven and I care

not who has them after." He went through the streets of the cities of India ringing a bell and calling on the people to send all the little children to him for instruction in religion.

Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, has become a familiar name, though still an indefinite figure, in Sunday-school history. He was the nephew of Pope Pius IV, a man of unusually high character and wisdom. In 1579 he organized the Collegium Helveticum, for the free education of Swiss young men for the priesthood. At the same time he was deeply interested in the religious education of the young. Agreeable to the mandates of church councils, he gathered the children at the cathedral and at its chapels. He also ordered that the same plans should be followed in all the churches under his care. He caused the children to be gathered in separate small classes, the girls and the boys being divided for religious instruction. Over each class was a minister or teacher. They met every Sunday for study and recitation in the catechisms. Beside the priests in charge of the classes there were other lay assistants, while for the girls matrons were provided. It is said that at the Archbishop's death there were 3040 teachers and 40,098 scholars in his schools.

Archbishop Bellarmine of Capua (1542-1621), whom Hallam calls "the most renowned and

formidable champion" of the Roman church, prepared a catechism for the use of children.

Bellarmino He traveled through all his parishes, gathering the children at the churches and arranging for their systematic instruction.

Count Zinzendorf, the Moravian revivalist, not only preached to children, but he inaugurated a system of bands, or classes of young converts. They met once or twice a week regularly in little groups of about five to sing and pray and discuss religious subjects under the direction of a leader. Wesley acknowledges this as the origin of the class-meeting plan, but it is interesting and significant, also, as one attempt to train the young in religion.

Zwingli published in 1524 a little text-book entitled, *How to Educate the Young in Good Manners and Christian Discipline*. He also outlined a plan of a systematic course of biblical study.

John of Nassau In the Netherlands at the period of the Renaissance there was a closer approach to general elementary education than anywhere else in Europe. The schools in many towns and villages were probably the results or survivals of those founded by the Brethren of the Common Life. In 1574 the Council of Dort asked the state to see that there was a school and a schoolmaster of the reformed faith in every

community. About the close of the century John of Nassau wrote a remarkable letter urging education for all classes. He pleaded that the States-General should establish free schools where all classes of children "could be well and christianly educated and brought up — Soldiers and patriots thus educated, with a knowledge of God and a Christian consciousness, item, churches and schools, good libraries, books and printing presses are better than all armies, arsenals, armories, munitions, alliances and treaties." The land that made such ideals practical was the home of the settlers of Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay Colony. (See Campbell, *The Puritan in Holland, England and America.*)

What checked the tremendous sweep of the reformation on the continent of Europe in a very few years and restored the ancient Jesuit Schools church to a large measure of power? Certainly two facts account in large measure for this: (1) that the church of Rome began to reform from within; and (2) that this reform consisted in taking one leaf out of Luther's book and doing that which he proposed much better than any reform organization had done it. Certain leaders in the Roman church seriously undertook the task of teaching the doctrines of the church to the young. Ignatius Loyola, in 1534, founded the Jesuit order of priests to combat the reformation.

The principal means employed was the establishment and control of schools of all grades, except the very elementary. He inaugurated a system of religious education according to the conception of his church. The society sought especially to influence young men and youths. It planned a course of study and regimen that embraced every act and every hour of the student's life. Early in the eighteenth century the order had six hundred and twelve colleges, one hundred and fifty-seven normal schools, twenty-four universities, and many missions with schools. The colleges were often very large, their students being youths usually from the better classes of society. In addition they had elaborate arrangements for personal instruction of choice youth.

The educational activity of the Jesuits accomplished much for their church and seemed to check the development of organized Protestantism for a time. But it failed in reality to educate the people religiously or to win them to the church because it neglected the training of the very young and even sought to keep the lower classes in complete ignorance.

“August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) started a school for the poor in his own house in Glan-
 Jesuit's
 Neglect of
 the Young
 Francke
 He urged that the chief aim in education was

religious knowledge and life.¹ But he protested against mere memory "chattering." His schools remain to this day. They profoundly influenced German popular education.

The conflict between Protestantism and Romanism in Europe brought about an unprecedented Protestant interest in theology. The scholars gave Day Schools their strength almost wholly to this subject. The literature of the age is almost exclusively religious or theological. The current thought of the period took form under this influence. The dominance of theology led to the attempt to reduce all knowledge to the narrow conceptions of the theologians and to reduce religious thinking to an infallible, logical, unchangeable system of formal statements. But it also had the effect of quickening popular education and giving religion the first place in classes and schools for children and youth. Every church became a school during the week. True, the instruction was often in the hands of the sexton or of a priest or preacher little better fitted for the work, but the effort awakened general interest and foreshadowed the beginnings of genuine public education.

The Protestant schools of Germany deserve larger attention than is possible here. They included schools for girls as well as for boys.

¹ See his *Kurzer und einfälliger Unterricht*.

Both provided that reading, writing, Luther's catechism, hymns, and the Bible should be taught.

German Protestant Schools The pupils were required to read the Bible at home and repeat its stories in the class. The principals of the girls' schools were to be women who "loved the Word of God."

In 1773, a village pastor named Kindermaun established a school which met at his church on Sundays. His plan becoming known **Kindermaun** it was adopted by many other parishes through Bohemia, and the Empress Maria Theresa rewarded Kindermaun, so Frieselander says, for his services.

In 1769 Miss Hannah Ball, of High Wycombe, about thirty-five miles from London, gathered a number of children on each Sunday **Hannah Ball** morning before the hour of service and taught them to read the Bible, to repeat the catechism and the church collect for the day. The corner in the church where she gathered her class is still pointed out to visitors. It may well be regarded as the birthplace of the English Sunday-schools.

John Frederic Oberlin was pastor at Waldbach, in the Bandela Roche. In 1767 he became both **Oberlin** pastor and schoolmaster and established in his parish, out of his own slender resources, four new schools. He erected houses

for them and began there the first infant schools ever held. Since the children of these schools were obliged to attend services on Sunday and to meet for the special purposes of singing their hymns and reciting their religious lessons, his work belongs in the lineage of the Sunday-school.

In England at this time certain great schools, such as Whitefriars, were founded by private funds and designed for the education of needy youths whose parents could not afford to send them to other schools. The pupils were fed and clothed either free or at very small charges. But it was not long before the "Bluecoat" boys and the pupils at such schools were the sons of rich men, of the families of army and navy officers and churchmen. The rights of the poor were stolen from them and at the close of the seventeenth century there was practically no provision for the education of the children of the lower classes in England. No wonder there was need for a Robert Raikes, since these children not only had no training but changing industrial conditions compelled them to work at least six days a week. However, even these endowed "public schools" were distinctly religious schools: they were founded with a religious purpose; they were conducted by the religious authorities of the realm; and they gave large place in their curricula to religious instruction. The youth

of those public schools had little need for the Sunday-school. No demand for such an institution was likely to arise from the English middle and upper classes.

It was not until Robert Raikes¹ had been for twenty years at his work in England that there was any general awakening to the recognition of the rights of the children of the poor to educational advantages. In 1811 what was known as the National Society was founded. Its purpose was to give the children of the poor both religious and secular instruction. The religious teaching was to be given by the established Church, the Episcopal, and the subject matter was to be in accordance with her teachings. These schools were, until 1833, purely voluntary; in that year the government made its first grant of money to them. Out of that grant rose the great educational controversy in England which has been carried on into the twentieth century. The schools first founded by the National Society became known as National Schools. These are recognized by the government and in them religious teaching is given by teachers of the state church (1910).

The British and Foreign School Society shortly

¹ "The Sunday-schools established by Mr. Raikes . . . were the beginnings of popular education." Green, *Short History of the English People*. Vol. II, p. 359.

afterwards began to establish schools in which, as they expressed it, an “undenominational religion” should be taught. Both these

British
School
Society types of schools, however, grew out of religious interest. Popular education in England has a distinctly religious foundation and, down to this day, a great deal of attention is devoted in by far the larger number of schools to direct religious instruction. However, that instruction has been a constant source of difficulty and division, and an increasing number of persons in Great Britain insist that all religious instruction must be left wholly to voluntary agencies, such as church schools, Sunday-schools, and similar associations and institutions.

IV

ROBERT RAIKES

IN early Sunday-school history no other figure stands out in relief like Robert Raikes. Not many years ago, in 1880, the Protestant world celebrated the centenary of the Sunday-school, one hundred years since Raikes founded his first schools in Gloucester, England.

Robert Raikes was born in Gloucester, September 14, 1736. His childhood was spent in fairly comfortable circumstances. That his education was not neglected is evident; his occupation as editor of *The Gloucester Journal* and his manifest literary ability prove this. It is said that he was for a time at Cambridge. In early manhood he became interested in the inmates of the county jail and by visitation and by writing he endeavored to alleviate their appalling condition.

In *The Gloucester Journal* of November 3, 1783, Raikes gives the first published mention of his interest in the schools for the poor on Sunday. Later he wrote a more complete account of the origin and working of his

plan. He told how he became impressed with the depravity of the children of the working class, how he thought of gathering them on Sundays, and how he employed four women to instruct them "in reading and the Church catechism," paying them one shilling a day (easily equivalent to five shillings — \$1.25 — at this day). He then called his printing press to his aid in preparing a pamphlet on the needs of the children. By the aid of friends he bought Bibles and books for the pupils. Then others saw the possibilities of these schools and soon a number were started. In 1786 when John Wesley visited Bolton, Lancashire, he found Sunday-schools established there, and the next year over eight hundred pupils were enrolled, "taught by eighty masters, who receive no pay but what they are to receive from their great Master." There is also abundant evidence that strong schools were established at Bradford, Chester, and at Stockton, the latter being the school now in existence, famous as the largest in the world.

In cooperation with William Fox, who at about the same time had worked out similar plans for the religious training of the young, **General Organization** "The Society for Promoting Sunday Schools Throughout the British Dominions" was organized in 1785. Some of the rules framed by this society are interesting: "Be diligent in

teaching the children to read well. . . . Neither writing nor arithmetic is to be taught on Sunday . . . Range your scholars in classes, according to their age and ability . . . Avoid as much as possible Corporal Punishments.”¹ Several distinguished names appear in connection with Raikes’ work. Hannah More wrote to William Wilberforce in 1789, seeking to obtain books for her schools in Cheddar. Mr. Raikes urged the schools with both high and low and succeeded in stimulating national interest in his movement. But his health began to fail and on April 5, 1811, he died in his own city of Gloucester, having succeeded in stirring all England to the needs of the neglected and destitute children of the large cities.

Some really surprising facts appear when one looks under the surface of the history of the
 Type of Sunday-school: (1) that it is customary
 Schools to speak of Robert Raikes as the “father of this great movement”; (2) that there were Sunday-schools flourishing in several places, centuries before Raikes, and that long before his birth there were several in his own country; (3) that the Sunday-schools of our day, in which we often honor Raikes, are in scarcely any particular like the ones which he founded. Our modern

¹ Quoted from *Robert Raikes*, 20th Century S. S. Series. American Baptist Publication Society.

Sunday-schools are not "ragged schools"—except as many of them, unfortunately, might deserve so to be called because of the character of their organization and management. Our schools do not attempt, except in very rare instances, to teach reading and writing, while those of Gloucester attempted little else. His schools were independent institutions, either unrelated to or opposed by the churches. These differences are, of course in part, but not altogether, accounted for by natural processes of development. New conceptions have entered in; some of the functions of Raikes' schools have been taken over and developed by other agencies. The public schools now do his work of general teaching and the relief and aid societies care for destitute children. But if all that Raikes did was to gather destitute children and to begin a system of general education, in what way can he properly be credited with the parentage of the present-day Sunday-school? It surely cannot be because his schools met on Sunday and our schools in the churches do likewise.

This is not an attempt to despoil Raikes of his crown. It is an attempt, in view of the three facts mentioned above, to show the precise significance of Raikes in the Sunday-school movement and history. Raikes is the father of the Sunday-school, not as its

inventor, still less as its maker or perfector, but as its prophet. He did not foresee the graded, organized, pedagogical school of the twentieth century; he did have love and faith enough to look forward in the direction of that school and to compel many others, his contemporaries and successors, to take the forward look. His motives compelled the steps that have gradually brought us where we now are.

It is important to account for some of the facts mentioned. First, why did the schools founded by Raikes find permanent rootage while those that preceded him were but temporary? Why did the great system of Cardinal Borromeo and the splendid plans of Archbishop Bellarmine, in the early seventeenth century, the familiar school of Nicholas Ferrar and the much disputed school of Joseph Alleine in Bath, all end in themselves, while the schools founded by Raikes succeeded in giving birth to new ideals and taking such hold on the minds and sympathies of men as to secure their continuity and their unbroken development?

First of all, Raikes was dominated by a motive that seems to be stronger, deeper, and more nearly universal than that which gave birth to the schools before him. He was swayed with passion for the children. He pitied and loved them. To him the child was the

Secret of
Raikes

universal than that which gave birth
to the schools before him. He was

reason for the school. That is precisely the point of view taken today: the child is the cause of the school; modern pedagogy insists that in the child we must find all the principles of the school. Robert Raikes did not call his schools Bible schools; he called them schools for ragged children. They were children's schools, and especially for destitute children. He did not organize them under the splendid ideal of all children being familiar with the Bible; he organized them to give those children a real chance at better living. As they were, those children were a menace to the city, a menace to themselves. The problem was to free them somehow from ignorance and evil habits. If you gather children that they may know your Scriptures, that they may think of religion as you think of it, even though your purpose may be excellent, it is only a literary or a philosophical aim. To accomplish the best results another motive must dominate; the child must be set before the curriculum. That was the saving mark of the schools founded by the Gloucester philanthropist; they were organized for the sake of the child, not for any sectarian, doctrinal, literary, or institutional aim. They made themselves one with our modern schools in their basic passion for the child.

Many schools, possessed of great advantages, have failed because their primary aims have not

been to meet the needs of the child; they have existed for the Bible, or for the denomination, *The Saving Motive* or for the creed. A child ought to know the Bible; it ought to be the most attractive book in the world to him; it may easily become the most familiar; and a child ought to come into life-relationship with his church. But to sit down and say, "Come, let us build a Sunday-school so that the Bible may be taught and so that the church may be strengthened," is to build a school and arrange its curriculum on the basis of the Bible or on that of the church instead of on the needs of the child. That is to work toward the object of a system of knowledge instead of toward the aim of a child growing up into the fulness of ideal and divine life. But having the child as purpose and object, the Bible, the whole curriculum, the creed and the church, become the tools and means to serve this high purpose. That was the vision Raikes saw when he looked on the unkempt, ragged, and blasphemous little scamps of the alleys. Through dirt and rags, through the stamp of bestial homes and vicious environment, he looked and saw the possible Christ-child. He had faith in even these dregs of humanity. His was a human passion; the methods for its realization worked themselves out later.

Another great saving impulse was operative

in the Raikes schools: that was the founder's conception of public education. The development of his scheme may be traced in ^{Aim} the letters which he wrote. Doubtless he would have scouted the idea that learning of any kind or degree would be sufficient of itself to secure right living and holy character. But certain convictions on the dangers of ignorance and on education as a pathway of growing light and life glowed in his mind. Remember that he was first of all a lover of his kind, a true philanthropist. Our earliest accounts show him concerned over the conditions in the city jails, over the large number of prisoners, their besotted ignorance, and their hopeless indifference to degraded conditions. Then he is concerned over the conditions of industry; why are so many homes wretchedly poor, fairly destitute of even the barest decencies, when parents and all the children work long hours in the pin shops? As a man with a craft, the somewhat rare and quite respectable trade of a printer, he is above this mass of poverty; but he loves his kind whether they are of the clean stock of the English gentleman or of the seething mass at the bottom. Long brooding over their needs convinces him that the people at the bottom might become as good as those at the top, if they had the chance. They were sinning because they had no knowledge.

Lying, thieving, vice, and every form of evil would seem perfectly normal to children brought up in hovels without instruction of any kind. The Gloucester philanthropist printer discovered for himself the great principles of common education which still uphold this system today. He recognized that all persons have a right to that common fund of knowledge regarding the essential facts of life, and to the wider vision of life in order that they may see life as a whole, that they may learn the art of right living with one another, that they may come to the fulness of their own powers, that they may become possessors of their splendid heritage of ideals, and that they may be able to render their full and efficient service to their day. Raikes was a prophet of the modern system of public education and the school on Sundays was his first expression of his vision.

Of course Raikes was not the first prophet of public education. But, by using the one spare
Free day of the week, he gave a practical
Education demonstration of that public education which was no more than a dream in the minds of a few leaders in England. Several have lately suggested that in the United States the system of elementary public education has become so much the object of blind enthusiasm as to be almost a popular fetich. But underlying all

popular enthusiasm for these schools is a deep conviction of their absolute necessity to popular freedom and especially to freedom for personal character development. In a free nation the school is the chance to express a great altruistic motive, a chance to give freely in order that others may receive. Even the man who has no children would be the object of public scorn if, on that account, he should seriously object to supporting public schools. In fact, the feeling is growing that those who have none to be educated should pay the larger share toward the education of others.

Now this altruistic spirit of public education is also the spirit that underlies the Sunday-school.

Essential Spirit of Altruism The Sunday-school might well claim the public school as one of its children.

The attempt to educate children on Sunday preceded any attempt at general free public education in English-speaking countries. "The act of 1642 in Massachusetts neither made schooling free nor imposed a penalty for its neglect."¹ It was "not until thirty years after the war of 1776 that a regular system of schools at the public expense was established."²

The religious characteristics of Raikes must not be overlooked. Doubtless of deep spiritual

¹ Boone, *Education in the United States*.

² Rhine, *Early Free Schools in America*.

conviction, holding to a high faith, and conscious of the presence of his Father at all times, he seems to have been what one would call a practical-minded Christian. He expressed his faith in his works. Even in his letters he spent little time in elaborating theological theses; in this he was unlike most of his literary contemporaries. Even though he had that exceedingly tempting opportunity of a printing press right at hand, he used it only for practical purposes. Instead of printing tracts to prove certain doctrines, he printed them to promote certain practical plans. In many respects Raikes would have been much at home in the twentieth century, which is the era of the man of affairs in religion. Some of his friends describe him as very much a man of business, "steady, methodical, and very tenacious of purpose." Perhaps in some measure the permanency of the essential parts of his idea is due to the fact that they were expressed by a man with a practical eye. He sought the realization of his ideal of the heavenly city, the city where "there shall be children playing in the streets thereof."

We are justified, then, in regarding Raikes as an important figure in the history of the development of the Sunday-school and as a man marking one great stage of progress in the history of religious education.

Raikes' Religious Spirit

The Man's Accomplishment

This is not because, as some would seem to claim, he planned the present-day Sunday-school, but because (1) he had the courage to apply great, fundamental principles and motives to the education of the young; (2) he had the tenacity to continue his work in face of all opposition, even that of those who ought most cordially to have cooperated with him, and (3) he had the wisdom to begin his work with those who most needed it and in the place where he could do it best.

V

EARLY SCHOOLS IN NORTH AMERICA

To the early settlers in New England separate institutions for religious education would have seemed as superfluous as separate schools for instruction in civic liberty. Religion was their daily mental and spiritual bread. It was at least one of the great causes of their being where they were and seemed to them the dominating factor in all they did. When they came to establish schools, as they did very early, at least in the development of the Massachusetts Bay Colony,¹ religious subjects took a large place in the curriculum. Five years after the Massachusetts Bay Colony was settled the Boston Latin School was established. The next year, 1636, Harvard College was founded to train young men for the ministry and, as expressed in 1650, for "the education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and

¹ The interest of the Virginia Colony seems to have centered in instruction in the "liberal arts," after the ideal of English universities.

in classes. Since the children had nothing else to do, and must remain usually from one service to the other, what more natural than to fill up even that short period with pious instruction? Doubtless there were many instances of which we have no record in which this was done. In other cases zealous pastors would retain the children after the afternoon service for catechetical instruction. The Reverend J. S. Reed mentions such a service of instruction for children as being conducted in the Congregational Church at Roxbury, Massachusetts, as early as 1674. There is also an account of such a school at Norwich, Connecticut, in 1676. In 1669, still earlier, mention is made of a similar school at Plymouth, Massachusetts.¹ In 1680 there is a clear record of a vote passed by the Plymouth church, "That the deacons be requested to assist the minister in teaching the children during the intermission on the Sabbath." The intermission was between the two preaching services. That sort of a resolution might well be adopted by a good many

¹ It is evident, however, that there was no widespread or general movement for schools for the religious instruction of the young on Sunday at this time, for the only other instances that seem to be at all authentic up to the American Revolution are the following: At Newton, L. I., N. Y., said to have been organized by the Reverend Morgan Jones in 1688; at Ephrata, Penn., a Dunker school organized by Ludwig Stucker in 1740; at Bethlehem, Conn., conducted by the Reverend Joseph Ballamy in 1740.

Sunday-schools today, to the stimulation of both deacons and pastors.

This brings us in the United States almost to the period of the foundation of Sunday-schools by Robert Raikes in England. In a few years the plan which he conceived was carried over to North America. Conditions, however, were so different on the western shores of the Atlantic that the schools which resulted from the importation of his plan were quite unlike those organized in English cities. First, the appalling conditions of destitution and neglect which so profoundly moved the heart of the Gloucester philanthropist were not found in the American villages. In the second place, the Sunday-schools were introduced under the patronage of the churches and not, as at first in England, with their opposition.

Despite many differences, there was keen need for such schools. Following the Revolutionary War there was a breaking up of old habits. Certain types of sceptical and atheistic thinking had become the vogue in the colleges and a tide of material development seemed to sweep before it many of the old domestic customs and pious observances. It was the incoming of new life and the breaking of the old bottles. Just at that time sectarian differences and disputes became unhappily pronounced.

Between the two tendencies, to irreligion and to sectarianism, religious instruction in the schools fell into disuse and even on Sundays churches were often too busy holding their own, one against another, to have much regard for the religious nurture of the young. Such tendencies are clearly marked in the literature of the period. They account in large measure for the failure of the Sunday-school idea — evidently planted in colonial soil before the time of Raikes — to germinate and develop rapidly in North America.

There is a suggestion of the early recognition of the insufficiency or unsuitability of the public schools for religious instruction, and therefore of the need of Sunday-schools in the history of public education in the state of New York. The present public-school system of that state started in 1805 in the movement to establish free schools for the children of indigent persons. The founders of these schools saw that it would be wise to avoid the teaching of any religious doctrines in them. Of course, many were ready at once to label such schools as "godless" and to insist upon the insufficiency of public education under such limitations. In order to meet the wishes of such critics it was arranged that the regular studies should be suspended on one afternoon in each week. Upon this being done, a committee of

Need Seen
in Public
Education

ladies in New York undertook to meet on that day and examine the children in their religious catechisms — a scheme similar to that in vogue in France for some time and recently proposed again in New York.

One other important early development of Sunday-school interest occurred in the United States as a direct result of the work of the First-Day Society of Robert Raikes. This was the organization in 1791, at Philadelphia, of "The First-Day or Sunday School Society." This body still maintains its official existence (1911). The gentlemen who organized this society were moved to do so by the ignorant condition of large numbers of the youth of the city. Although Pennsylvania had very early projected a most praiseworthy system of public education, there is little evidence that it had reached down through all strata of society. A Public Grammar School was established in 1689, but it seems to have been modeled after the English Charity Schools, so as to be of benefit only to the children of persons of means. Franklin's well-known educational endeavors were directed to an Academy, the forerunner of the University of Pennsylvania. But in the city of Philadelphia there were children as destitute and as ignorant as those whose condition so profoundly moved the heart of Raikes.

Three men conferred over the state of the youth of the city; they were — happy augury of future interdenominational cooperation — Bishop White, Episcopalian; Matthew Carey, Roman Catholic; and Dr. Benjamin Rush, Universalist. A public meeting was called for December 19, 1790, at which the plan of organizing Sunday-schools was explained. A week later a constitution and the name of the society were adopted. The plan of operation distinctly stated that instruction should consist in learning to read and write from the Bible and other moral and religious books. While the society had been animated by the same motives as Raikes and proposed the same general plan it evidently had in mind a distinctly religious purpose. The preamble of the constitution is highly interesting.

“Whereas, the good education of youth is of the first importance to society, and numbers of children, the offspring of indigent parents, have not proper opportunities of instruction previous to their being apprenticed to trades; and whereas, among the youth of every large city, various instances occur of the first day of the week, called Sunday — a day which ought to be devoted to religious improvements — being employed to the worst of purposes, the depravity of morals and manners: It is therefore the

First Steps
in Organi-
zation

opinion of sundry persons, that the establishment of Sunday-schools in this city would be of essential advantage to the rising generations; and for effecting that benevolent purpose they have formed themselves into a society."

As in the case of the society for promoting Sunday-schools in the British Dominions, in 1785, so with the Philadelphia First-Day Society, the organization was possible and imperative on account of the great tide of missionary enthusiasm that swept over the Christian world about the close of the eighteenth century.

VI

THE ADOPTION OF THE SCHOOL BY THE CHURCH

IN Great Britain the serious opposition to Sunday-schools, as established by Raikes, came from the churches; in the United States the churches fostered the schools. The striking difference between the Sunday-schools in the two countries is largely due to this fact.

The first Sunday-schools in England were established and conducted by private enterprise.

The School
at the Door
of the
Church

Originally their religious value was simply incidental; their purpose was moral and educational. Raikes had little success in enlisting the support of the English clergy. As the movement spread and some of the schools sought to meet in chapels and church rooms they attracted the attention of the clergy. Many regarded the use of the sacred edifice, even the chapel or vestry room, for the religious instruction of children as an act of desecration. It was also feared that thus to popularize education would lead to dis-

content and lawlessness. John Wesley heartily supported the movement, while the Bishop of Rochester denounced it in no measured terms. The Archbishop of Canterbury called a conference of bishops to decide on plans to arrest the progress of these schools.

Hannah More met with bitter and cruel opposition to her schools. She was accused of sedition and treason. She was charged with being an accomplice in plans to assassinate her opponents, the clergy. Teachers and school workers were subjected to many petty persecutions, for they were regarded as usurpers of the neglected privileges of the clergy.

The press joined with the clergy in expressing its terror lest these new schools should undermine the existing order. Even *The Gentleman's Magazine*, which has become known to thousands only through its advocacy of Raikes' plans, published a communication bitterly assailing the "Sunday-school as "subversive of that order, that industry, that peace and tranquillity which constitute the happiness of society; and that so far from deserving encouragement and applause it merits our contempt." It is easy to imagine that country gentlemen and other stockholders who believed it to be the divine will that little children should work in pin factories and other child-labor institutions

objected to any educational agency which might make them discontented with slavery.

The school was opposed as desecrating the day of rest and it was therefore urged that "Sunday-schools should be held on week days."

The School a "Desecration" The opposition came from nonconforming ministers, as well as from clergymen of the State Church. Even in the United States there were ministers who denounced the schools. One pastor succeeded in driving teacher and class from the church to the schoolhouse and from the schoolhouse to the open, shaking his cane at the class and crying, "You imps of Satan, doing the devil's work!" In 1787 George Daughaday, a Methodist preacher, was ducked in a cistern for presuming to gather a class of negro children and instruct them in the Bible. But in the end the school won its right to do its work.

Concerning the Edinburgh Gratis Sunday School Society one of the workers wrote to a friend: "At the first formation of the society — several of the more liberal of the clergy attended, but they have almost all deserted us now, and are beginning to look upon us with a jealous eye. One of them said the other day that we were striking a blow at the very vitals of the Establishment by means of these schools." Describing conditions in 1798 in England one writes: "The opposition which Mr. Cranfield

Popular Feeling

and his friends encountered in this district was dreadful. Every species of insult was heaped upon them; they were pelted with filth of all descriptions, and dirty water was frequently thrown out of windows on their heads.”¹ Of course not all such acts should be credited to the opposition of the church.

Conditions would have been very different, however, had the organized religious agencies understood the possibilities of this school Wesley and welcomed their greatest recruiting, conserving agency. But the schools were suffered to go on as independent activities, as “ragged schools.” Meeting with coldness and active opposition, many ceased to exist. Raikes’ school was closed in 1811. The sagacious leader, John Wesley, was one of the first to recognize the need for the Sunday-school and its proper place in the work of the church. In the First Discipline, in 1784, it is ordered that, “Where there are ten children whose parents are in the society, meet them at least one hour every week.” In 1785 Wesley published an account of the schools, speaking of them in terms of commendation. In *The American Magazine* he wrote the striking words, “Perhaps God may have a deeper end thereto than men are aware of. Who knows but

¹ Quoted by C. G. Trumbull in *The Development of the Sunday School*, p. 9.

what some of these schools may become nurseries for Christians?" Wesley's foresight in regard to these schools had, doubtless, a good deal to do with the fact that the Methodist churches in the United States were amongst the first formally to adopt the Sunday-school as a regular part of church work.

In Wales a certain Charles, of Bala, brought the school into relation to the church before Charles, the end of the eighteenth century. He of Bala conducted a public campaign which called attention to the need for such schools and organized them *in the churches*. He enlisted the attendance of adults as well as children and, significant fact, he made the Bible the principal subject of all their study.

In the United States a slight, sporadic opposition to the Sunday-schools was based, not on the ground of the menace of the religious
 In the United States education of the lowly, but on that of its being a departure from established church usage. This indicates how closely these schools were already identified with the churches. In the United States Sunday-schools were in existence before Raikes began his "ragged schools" at Gloucester. A number of well-authenticated instances of such schools meeting under church auspices are on record. The religious instruction of children was ordained by the councils and

authoritative bodies of the various denominations. So that it was not at all a strange thing to find Bishop Asbury, of the Methodist Church, adapting the Raikes plan to conditions in North America and organizing a Sunday-school at the home of Mr. Thomas Crenshaw, in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1786. This was really a school in a church for this home was one of the Bishop's preaching stations. Practically all the early American Sunday-schools were organized by churches and conducted in churches.

In 1790 the Methodist Conference at Charleston, South Carolina, formally placed the Sunday-school in the care of the church. It ordered that there should be established "Sunday schools in or near the place of worship. Let persons be appointed by the Bishops, Deacons, or Preachers, to teach gratis all who will attend and have capacity to learn, from six o'clock in the morning till ten, and from two o'clock in the afternoon till six, when it does not interfere with public worship."¹ Truly this was taking the school seriously!

The last ten years of the eighteenth century witnessed the formation of many Sunday-schools in the cities of the United States, nearly all organized in churches. Doubtless the number was much greater than we are able

¹ Quoted by M. C. Brown in *Sunday School Movements in America*, p. 23.

to show precisely at this time. Dr. Reed gives 1790 as the year of the organization of the first Universalist-Sunday-school, at Philadelphia, the first amongst the Friends in the same city in 1791, and amongst the Baptists at Pawtucket, Rhode Island in 1791. The first Baptist Sunday-school in the South was organized in the First Baptist Church of Baltimore in 1804. The first Sunday-school for negroes was established in St. Louis in 1818.

Schools in the United States on the same general plan as the Raikes schools stand out as **Private Schools** entirely different institutions from the church schools. A notable instance is that of the schools started by Mr. Charles Slater, an Englishman, who had come to New England to set up spinning frames. He established a Sunday-school for his employees at Pawtucket. There was also a school for the employees of spinning mills at Paterson, New Jersey.

The adoption of the Sunday-school by the church and the recognition of this school as an **Church Schools** agency or department of the church for the religious training of the young was the most important step in the development of the Sunday-school.

Such a conception of the function of the school was almost peculiar to America. It may well be called the American Sunday-School Idea. It

meant that this school became, not a temporary expedient to rescue poor and ignorant children, but a permanent institution, discharging a definite function in the life of the church. It involved the adoption of the plan of voluntary, unpaid teachers and the principle of voluntary, state-free support for its work. The church gave the school the soil in which it might grow to usefulness. The school met a real need in the life of the church, the need of a specific agency or form of organization for the nurture of the young in the religious life. It also became a definite department of the church, suited to the life and needs of the child. It became an institution in which the child might find normal relationship with the church and might receive the direction, stimulus, and instruction it needed.

During the nineteenth century the Sunday-schools of Great Britain became more religious in character, the Bible came to have the principal, and at length generally, the only place in the curriculum. Under those circumstances it was only natural that the school should gravitate toward the church. By the end of the century nearly all met in buildings attached to churches. There are still, however, a number of Sunday-schools remaining, especially in the Black Country, the northern manufacturing dis-

The
American
Idea

In Great
Britain

trict of England, which meet in public halls or in other hired rooms. Some of them are attended by hundreds of youths and men. The elements of an ordinary education are given by paid teachers. Frequently there are also moral and religious lessons, sometimes a general lecture or address on a religious subject. They constitute the only educational opportunities for large numbers.

The schools that meet in churches in Great Britain seldom can be regarded as integral parts of the churches. Their expenses are not included in church budgets. Their officers are not elected by the church boards or by the congregations. The pastors seldom attend, save by invitation to make the closing address in the afternoon. They are not guided or aided by denominational societies or officers. With some rare exceptions they are church schools only to the degree that they meet in church buildings.

The Sunday-school has never been the same kind of institution in England as in America. The differences are due to several facts. The English school was organically connected with the work of Robert Raikes. It was born outside the churches and continued to exist largely independently of them. It was organized for philan-

English
Schools
and
Churches

English
and
American
Schools

ADOPTION OF THE SCHOOL

thropic purposes, particularly to teach the rudiments of an education. The American school was born in the church. It began when the church was obliged to take up the special task of the religious education of the young. The English people did not feel at any time during the nineteenth century or prior to that the deep need for separate schools of religion. Religious subjects were taught daily in all schools. The great public schools for the upper classes were on religious foundations. In America the principles of religious freedom forbade the teaching of religion in state institutions. The duty of the religious education of the young was thrust on every church. Besides this, in England the conception of free universal elementary education developed much later than in America. In the latter country the Sunday-school has developed under the stimulus of popular educational ideals. The American school is in part the result of the apparent disadvantages and the real limitations of our system of free public education. The school has here attained a place of large religious and social importance because, under religious freedom in the state, the teaching of religion must be left to voluntary institutions.

The adoption of the school by the church in North America is easily traced: (1) in the case of schools organized by churches before 1780 and

EVOLUTION OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL

about that time; (2) in the fact that when the influence of the Raikes movement crossed the Atlantic the schools were organized in churches; (3) in the special departments and officers provided by the denominations to care for these schools; and (4) in the distinct differences between the Sunday-schools of England and those of North America.

The adoption of the Sunday-school by the church marked a new era in religious history. It came through the convergence of three streams: (1) the growing recognition on the part of the churches of their duty to instruct the child and to train youth in the religious life; (2) the organization by Robert Raikes of special institutions for the instruction of children on Sunday; and (3) the recognition by Christian people of the deplorable spiritual destitution of their times.

Besides the Sunday-school two other highly important results came from these converging influences: (1) the new institutions for the instruction of the young admitted the services of lay workers and thus set free the pent-up powers of lay service and zeal; (2) the recognition of deep and widespread religious need led, at the end of the eighteenth century, to a remarkable outburst of missionary zeal, expressing itself in the organization of the

great Foreign Missionary Societies (Baptist, 1792; London, 1796; Scottish, 1796; Church of England, 1799) The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804; The American Bible Society, 1816; and The Religious Tract Society, 1799.

VII

DEVELOPMENT THROUGH ORGANIZATIONS

THE eighteenth century closed in the glow of a splendid ardor for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ. It expressed itself in a number of great organizations for missionary work. The Sunday-school had its share in the benefits arising from the general awakening. This new agency for religious education was speedily fostered by special organizations. The first was The Society for Promoting Sunday Schools Through the British Dominions, created to extend the Raikes type of schools. Its useful work continued and prospered, so that when the founder died in 1811 the number of pupils through the British Dominions and in the United States was estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand.

The organization of the First-Day or Sunday School Society in Philadelphia in 1791 has already been described. Its operations have always been quite local in extent. For many years it was occupied with securing funds to compensate

teachers, and when the system of paid teaching fell into disuse it turned its attention to purchasing books for schools in Philadelphia and suburbs.

In Great Britain Sunday-school interests have been steadily fostered by what is now known as
 The British Sunday School Union.
 The union was organized in 1803 as
 a result of the suggestion of one teacher
 to another that it would be a good thing
 to get together and compare methods of work.
 It began with the holding of quarterly meetings
 for teachers. Later it was extended to a campaign for the establishment of a school in connection with every church. Then followed the publication of certain handbooks on Sunday-schools and their work. Ten years after the organization of the union it began to publish a periodical for teachers and two years later a monthly paper for pupils. These publications were not lesson helps, but papers intended for general reading. In 1840 the first schemes of lessons for the Sundays of that year were sent out, two series being arranged, one for the morning sessions of the schools and another for the afternoon. The English schools early adopted the custom, to which the greater number of schools still cling, of having two lessons and two sessions of the school. When the International

Uniform Lesson plan was adopted, this lesson was generally accepted for the afternoon schools. The British schools still have another series for the morning sessions. During recent years the British Sunday School Union has given its principal attention to the creation of literature suitable for the use of schools. It has fostered the organization of new schools and the training of teachers, especially in wider biblical knowledge, by lectures, institutes, and special courses with examinations. It extends its work through Sunday-school missions in foreign lands. It supports the work of organized Young People's Societies and Bands of Hope or temperance societies. It gave birth to the International Bible Readers' Association, now enrolling over three-quarters of a million members. The union possesses a valuable plant and maintains, beside its splendid building in London, hospitals and a sanitarium for children, and a Home of Rest for women teachers in the Sunday-schools.

The American Sunday School Union is another by-product of the missionary awakening at the end of the eighteenth century. The Reverend Robert May, a missionary of the London Missionary Society, on his way to India in 1811, stopped at Philadelphia and awakened much interest by his accounts of Sunday-school organizations in

American
Sunday-
School
Union

England. As a result of that visit a number of organizations sprang up in this country. In 1817 nearly all these were brought together in what was called "The Sunday and Adult School Union." Other unions came into existence in other cities. In 1820 the New York Union proposed a general organization for the United States. The matter was considered in two large meetings of delegates from several unions. Some came from the Pittsburg Union, organized in 1809 and, although then in the far West, the largest in the country. At the second meeting, on May 25, 1824, the American Sunday School Union was organized. It was a union in fact, for it represented the affiliation of a number of existing organizations and was created by representatives of a number of denominations. It gave its attention to three lines of endeavor: (1) the publication of suitable literature for Sunday-schools; (2) the selection of scriptural lessons and the preparation of lesson materials; and (3) the organization and maintenance of schools in needy places. It is still active and successful in the first and the last of these purposes. It reports having organized over one hundred thousand schools and having published books and papers to a value of over nine million dollars.

Some of the chapters in the history of the missionary work of the Sunday School Union

deserve a more elaborate recital than can be given here. The work and adventures of men like Stephen Paxson, in the Mississippi Valley, belong to the romance of modern missions. Suffice to say that in 1829 the Union began its work in what was then the far West. It established headquarters in the village of Cincinnati and in 1830 began a systematic campaign for the establishment of schools through the Mississippi Valley. Large sums of money were raised for the enterprise and missionaries went out, receiving the princely remuneration of one dollar for every day of actual work. At the end of two years seventy-eight missionaries had organized two thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven schools in the region which was the object of this special endeavor. To-day where flourishing cities and prosperous villages dot those smiling prairies and rolling lands look up toward the mountains, the schools organized in rude huts, log cabins, and sod houses have become substantial churches. They are centers of wide influence and agencies for yet further missionary work. The missionaries of the Union are still founding and fostering new schools in the frontier sections, as in Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, and also in states where there are unsettled portions as in Kansas and Oklahoma. The Union works principally in the smaller

Work
in the
Mississippi
Valley

villages and the rural districts. It is said to be organizing schools at the rate of three a day. Those who travel through the sparsely settled portions of the Southern and Western states and who know the conditions of living there know, too, how welcome are those who will establish any kind of religious agency in the lonely little schoolhouses on the plains and amongst the mountains. The history of many a strong church is just beginning today in some remote mining camp where a little Sunday-school is being organized. Often the work begins in the public schoolhouse; sometimes, as the writer knows, in a barn or even a saloon. In a few months the residents send for a preacher to come occasionally from the near-by city. In a few years the school will be a church with its own school and its outlying stations in other mining camps.

As soon as the Sunday-school was recognized in America as the child of the church, the denominations began to foster its development. At first the school received no special or separate emphasis, being regarded as a regular part of the whole work of the church. Suitable resolutions would be passed concerning it at the conventions and conferences of the denominations. It was treated as, for example, the service of worship is now, as so much a part of the work

Denomina-
tional
Sunday-
School Or-
ganizations

of the church as to require no special organization for itself. In time it became evident that the school needed those who would devote themselves entirely to its work. Men saw that, if Sunday-schools were to be really efficient, they must be no longer either accidents or incidents in the work of the church; they must be especially organized for specific purposes and must receive the undivided attention of capable persons.

The recognition of the need of special organizations for the promotion of Sunday-school work and for the development of the school **Specializa-
tion** by the denominations was an important step toward the modern Sunday-school. It led to the conception, now generally accepted, of the school as a special agency in the church, an educational institution requiring a type of work unlike that in any other department of the church.

The denominational Sunday-school organizations developed slowly. They grew out of the **Denomina-
tional
Beginnings** state organizations fostered by the American Sunday School Union. A good example is that of the Congregational Society organized out of the Massachusetts Sunday School Union in 1832. At first the denominations carried on their Sunday-school work under their boards of publication. Later the tendency was to commit the work of the Sunday-school to special boards organized for

purposes of religious education. The Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church is a good example of the later form.

Doubtless we must give to the Methodist Episcopal Church the credit for the earliest Methodist general denominational recognition of Episcopal the importance of the Sunday-school. This denomination was the first to make official provision by its local conferences for such schools. Church leaders, such as Bishop Asbury, gave hearty support to their organizations. In 1824 the General Conference of the Church passed three resolutions providing: (1) that the itinerant preachers should establish schools; (2) catechisms should be taught in them; and (3) other suitable books should be provided. Three years later, in April, 1827, the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized with its headquarters in New York City. The new organization had a somewhat insecure tenure on life, however, and it was not until its reorganization in 1840 that it began its career of valuable efficiency. Since then its usefulness has steadily grown and in recent years, under the leadership of Dr. McFarland, it has led in the campaign for the effective gradation of Sunday-school material and for all that has made for the thorough adoption of educational methods in the schools.

The Unitarians organized their Sunday School

Society in the same year and month as the Methodists (April, 1827). While this society has steadily fostered the organization of schools in the churches, its most notable service has been in the direction of the preparation and publication of a great variety of graded lessons. No other house approaches this one in the number of series of lessons for the Sunday-school, and the others have only recently attempted to adapt their lessons to the different grades of pupils. For pioneer work on graded lessons the honor surely belongs to the Unitarian Society.

As long as the Lutheran Church maintained a system of parochial schools with religious instruction on week-days the need for Sunday-schools was not felt as keenly as by other denominations of Protestants. Nevertheless, the Lutheran General Council organized a Sunday School Union as early as 1830. A remarkable wave of renewed interest in the Sunday-school has swept over this church in the first years of the twentieth century.

The Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society dates back at least to 1832, when the members of the churches of that denomination separated, by mutual agreement, from their union with the Baptists in Sunday-school work in Massachusetts. Since that time the Congregational agencies for the

development of the Sunday-school have been increasingly active and efficient. Some of their best early work was done in the organization of new schools in the Western states. In later years they have given especial attention to the publication of high-grade lesson material and to co-operation in all movements for the increase of Sunday-school efficiency along educational lines.

It would be impossible to show in detail how the work of the Baptists has developed, both in their Northern and in their Southern Baptist Conventions. As early as 1840 Sunday-school work was distinctly recognized as part of the business of their Publication Society. They have also accomplished a good work in promoting teacher-training. They were the pioneers in the preparation of advanced texts for teachers and in utilizing the Young People's Society for religious education. The Southern Baptist Publication Society was organized in 1847. It promoted Sunday-schools until, in 1857, the Southern Baptist Sunday School Union was organized.

The Presbyterian Board of Publication has always fostered Sunday-school work. In 1909 it took an advance step toward greater usefulness in the employment of an Educational Secretary for Sunday-schools.

Enough has been said to show that the great de-

nominations of Protestantism in the United States early regarded the Sunday-school as distinctly a part of the work of the churches.

Conclusions In increasing measure they have come to see that these schools require special organizations for their promotion and specially trained workers for their development. They acknowledge them as worthy of large investments of the time and money of the church. The denominations hold themselves responsible for the efficiency of the schools. One result is that more and more the Sunday-school work of the churches is being committed to men who are educational experts; it is recognized that here adequate special training is required.

It is a sign of great encouragement, both for the future of the Sunday-school and for the speedy union of the whole family of God, that the many denominations with their Sunday-school boards have been able, despite many serious difficulties, despite sometimes apparent conflict of interests, to work in remarkable harmony with one another and with the many plans of the International Sunday School Association.

VIII

THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

THE history of the International Sunday School Association from 1832 to 1887 is written wholly in a series of conventions. From 1887 on the record includes many other activities. This broadening of functions is indicated in the change of name in 1906 from International Sunday School Convention to International Sunday School Association. Yet those first ten conventions, even to the very first of them all, clearly foreshadowed the field in which the Association would work and the large demand for its existence. The Association was born in the desire for such cooperation of all workers and agencies as would make for the largest efficiency of all, while maintaining the autonomy of each. It has proceeded steadily along those lines. In increasing degree and clearness it has seen its field defined and enlarged. It has grown from a single general meeting to an organization holding thousands of conferences annually, with a triennial budget of about \$70,000

and with a large force of paid workers. Operating in closest affiliation with it are organizations, with paid secretaries, in nearly every state in the Union. For the promotion of Sunday-school work the International Association has become in a large measure the clearing house of all the churches, the agency through which they are unitedly doing many things which separately would involve the duplication of activities. The field of the Association today is largely that of promotion, inspiration, and of securing general cooperation.

The Convention out of which this Association gradually grew was called by the officers of the **Beginnings** American Sunday School Union in a meeting held April 10, 1832. They appointed May 23 of that year as the date for a general gathering of all persons actually engaged in the Sunday-schools as superintendents, teachers, or other officers. This gathering was to be preliminary to a convention which was proposed for the following year.

At the preliminary meeting held in Philadelphia on the date set it was determined, by the ninety **Preliminary** accredited delegates from thirteen of **Gathering** the then twenty-four states, that a convention should be held in New York on October 3 of that year. Plans were made so that the delegates at that convention should be repre-

sentatives of Sunday-school associations and unions, rather than of schools or churches directly. Another important preparatory step was the appointment of a Committee on Interrogatories, to prepare and circulate a list of over seventy questions on Sunday-school problems and methods.

When the First Convention met in the Chatham Street Chapel, New York, on October 3, 1832, out of the twenty-five thousand interrogatories sent out replies were in hand from one hundred and thirty-eight persons. There were present two hundred and twenty delegates and these received reports, compiled from the answers received to the questionnaires. One of the important matters debated at that first convention was in regard to the widening scope of the Sunday-school. Evidently some thought it might well continue to be, like the Raikes schools, principally for destitute children. But a resolution, "That the Sunday-school should embrace all classes of the community," was passed. This is the first official recognition of the school in its new and larger significance as the school of religion for all.

The Second Convention, held on the authority of the First, met about eight months later in May, 1833, at Philadelphia. The convention was not a great success though

it served to call attention to certain important matters, the need for a general effort to enroll children in the schools, the possibilities of school in jails and similar institutions, the duties of parents in the religious education of their children, and the possibilities of Bible-study groups meeting in homes.

The twenty-six years that elapsed before another national convention was held were not all lean or barren years. Perhaps the time had not yet come for great national gatherings; but the states and the local associations or unions were going on with their work. The splendid work of the American Sunday School Union was finding rich fruitage during these years, particularly in the Middle West. Several states held large and important Sunday-school conventions, as in Brooklyn in 1856, in Boston a little later, and in Albany the following year. Many trace the first county convention to this period, when Stephen Paxson called a number of schools together for a two days' conference at Winchester, Illinois, in 1846.

The Third National Convention, held in Philadelphia, February 22 to 24, 1859, seems almost unrelated to the other conventions. First impressions suggest that, so far as continuous, organized, country-wide work was concerned all these conventions

were failures; but they were not. They were preparing the way and molding the opinion of the religious world. Moreover, they brought together and doubtless contributed greatly to the development of future Sunday-school leaders. Such men as Henry Clay Trumbull, John H. Vincent, and B. F. Jacobs came to the front in these gatherings and they left a permanent impress on the history of the Sunday-school. Trumbull was the secretary of this convention, preparing for his work as the founder of Sunday-school journalism of the modern type. John H. Vincent, father of the Normal Institute, Summer Assembly, and Teacher-training Movement, and B. F. Jacobs sponsor for the Uniform Lesson and marshal of Sunday-school forces through the Middle West are each the builders of mile-stones in the early Sunday-school progress.

Then came the time of the trying of men's souls in the bitter days of the Civil War. The Sunday-school leaders were with the armies, ^{Fourth} ~~Convention~~ serving in the hospitals, and in the ranks. When the war was over, at a meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association at Detroit in June, 1868, the Sunday-school workers gathered under the leadership of that true educator, Edward Eggleston. Arrangements were then enthusiastically made for a general convention the next year. The Fourth National Convention,

April 28 to 30, 1869, met in Newark, New Jersey, and began the system of triennial conventions which has since been continued without interruption. Delegates from twenty-eight states and practically all the English-speaking world struck the note of universal cooperation which was to find unusual form in the next convention.

The Fifth National Convention held in Indianapolis, April 16 to 19, 1872, marks an epoch ^{Fifth} in Sunday-school history, since it for-
^{Convention} mally and enthusiastically adopted the system of uniform lessons. One other step in advance was the appointment of a national statistical secretary, foreshadowing the employment of several secretaries in later years.

Each succeeding convention has made some contribution to Sunday-school progress and has ^{First Inter-} marked the progress which many schools
^{national} had been making. The next triennial meeting, held in Baltimore in 1875, was also called the First International Convention, because this was the first time delegates from Canada received official recognition. The Convention of 1878, held in Atlanta, Georgia, marked the establishment of Sunday-school bonds between North and South. That of 1881, at Toronto, saw the beginning of interdenominational work and the promotion of home classes. The Convention of 1884 made possible British coopera-

tion with the Lesson Committee and also witnessed the organization of a Primary Teacher's Institute. The specialization of Primary work in the school led to the organization of other departments and the preparation of special lessons and forms of work for them.

The Fifth International (Tenth National) Convention was held in Chicago in 1887. It formally **Home Department** recognized the Home Department. This was seen to be an important method of extending the Sunday-school into homes and of reaching those who were prevented from attending the regular sessions. It made possible classes and private study of the lessons by shut-ins, men employed on Sunday, and those, as in mining-camps, far distant from the schools. While many claim the credit of originating the Home Department, the first man to promote its organization was Dr. W. A. Duncan, a Methodist minister, who began his work in that direction in 1881. In a few years home classes sprang up in many parts of the country until schools were obliged to make special provision for these correspondence pupils.

The Fifth International Convention marks also one other important advance step, for it **Employed Officers** provided for the employment of a special officer to care for its work in the interim between conventions and to act as

field superintendent and organizer. William Reynolds, of Illinois, was appointed to this office after the Chicago meeting and held this position until 1897. He was succeeded, in 1899, at the next convention, by Mr. Marion Lawrance, now (1911) the General Secretary. At this ninth convention held in Atlanta in 1899 other secretaries were also appointed, including a field secretary and two secretaries for work in the South amongst the negroes.

In an important sense the appointment of these general officers inaugurated the era of greatest development in the work of the International Convention. The activities which they were able to promote made necessary the organization of an Association which would steadily work, not only for great conventions, but for the promotion of Sunday-school interests throughout all the year and all over the country.

Meanwhile there had sprung up, under the fostering care of the many state associations, a large number of organizations of Sunday-school workers, and soon there were enough missionaries and secretaries employed by the state associations to organize themselves into Field Workers' Conferences. The field workers conducted institutes and conferences, taught teachers' classes, delivered public addresses, and organized departments of Sunday-

Subsidiary
Organiza-
tions

school work in their fields, whether cities, counties, or states. These state associations and unions were affiliated with the International Association. They raised money for its support and formed subsidiary bodies which sent the delegates from their conventions to the International Convention.

The most important recent developments in the history of the organized International movement have been: (1) the thorough organization of a standing Executive Committee, nominated by the states and divisions of territory and elected by the convention, to carry out the policies of the convention and to direct the activities of all the Association's workers. (2) The Lesson Committee, nominated by a special committee and elected by the convention, consisting of representatives of the great denominations on both continents, to select the Scripture portions for the uniform lessons and to outline the subjects of study and the lesson material for the graded lessons (see the chapter on "Lessons"). (3) Departmental Organization; Primary, Home, Field Workers, Education, Adult, Missionary, each having its special secretary or secretaries. The six field workers attend institutes, conferences, and state conventions and keep in close touch with all the field. The Educational Secretary has special charge of the promotion of Teacher-training. (4) The General Secretary has

charge of all the field-work, oversees the execution of all plans of work, is the coordinating, personal head of all the varied activities.

The International Sunday School Association has played a highly important part in the development of the Sunday-school. It is the organized expression of the great force of Sunday-school enthusiasm, which might otherwise, without its power of converging and coordinating, remain separated so that its energies in time would be dissipated. It has a focusing function, gathering up the light rays of all its parts. Therefore, it often must wait for their action. As an organization it is naturally conservative, expressing the will not of a few leaders but of the great bulk of the workers. Yet it has shown possibilities of leadership. Under the direction of the chairman of its Executive Committee, Mr. W. N. Hartshorn, steps of signal importance and progress have been taken, with a view to educating workers and so to secure permanent progress. It has shown elasticity of response, remarkable for so large a movement, to the stimulus of other movements which have sought speedy advance. It has, under such stimulus, adopted the principle of graded lessons, recognized the validity of educational principles in Sunday-school work, and promoted the technical training of ministers for their work in the school.

Service
of the
Association

IX

THE STORY OF THE LESSON SYSTEM

A SCHOOL implies lessons. The story of the development of courses of lessons for the Sunday-school is one of the most extraordinary in all the history of education. This is so principally on account of the uniformity with which these lessons, up to the beginning of the twentieth century, were confined to the Bible and also because of the means by which improvement in the use of that material has been secured.

In the schools founded by Raikes the lessons were in the rudiments of secular education, reading, writing, and arithmetic. About 1785 Raikes prepared a little text-book called "Redinmadesy" (Reading Made Easy). The first step in advance came a few years later from the schools in the churches in the United States. They adopted the system of memorizing passages of the Scriptures and selections from the various catechisms. A large number of verses were memorized either by pupils at home or by classes repeating them in concert. It is

Random
Memori-
zation

said that as many as three hundred passages were sometimes included in one exercise. Prizes were offered to the pupils whose minds most easily acquired facility in this practice.

In 1810 Dr. James Gall, of Edinburgh, prepared a series of lessons on what was called the Lessons method of "Nature's Normal School." Assigned It consisted of short Bible stories with explanations, questions, and answers. The plan was not introduced into the United States until about 1825. At that time the American Sunday School Union called attention to this plan and to various other improvements which had been made in Sunday-school lessons. Dr. Gall's scheme was formally approved by the New York Sunday School Union. The plan involved the selection of specific passages or stories for lessons so that, instead of the teacher or pupil studying verses of the Bible at random without regard to context or continuity, a definite lesson was assigned. This was the second step in advance, the recognition of an assigned lesson.

In 1827 the Reverend Albert Judson issued a series of questions on biblical lessons, announcing Connected his book as the first of a series of annual Lessons lesson courses. His plan was to present the principal facts of the Bible in a series of lessons covering five years and providing forty lessons to each year. In the same year the Sun-

day School Union began to publish its notable series of Union Question Books. The Union had already adopted the working principle of one lesson for the whole school. It urged on all schools cooperating with it that they should forsake the loose memoriter system and follow the courses of lessons published in the *Sunday School Journal*. The Question Books were somewhat more than the name would imply, for they contained notes, explanations, and aids for teachers. Judson's plan and that of the Union constituted the next step forward which was the recognition of the possibility of a connected sequence of lessons.

During the next forty years a multitude of lesson schemes and text-books were introduced. "Babel" So many and so diverse were they that Period this has been called the "Babel" period of Sunday-school lessons. The denominations followed the lead of enterprising private individuals and each one issued its own series of lessons. By 1852 the Unitarians had eight graded manuals in use. In this period of ferment each school worked at its problem in pretty much its own way. Many experiments were tried and, unconsciously, preparations were made for a better day.

After the Civil War certain great leaders appeared who gave their energies to the improvement of lesson schemes. One of these was Edward

Eggleston, editor of the *National Sunday School Teacher*, published in Chicago. His splendid genius made his paper and particularly his lessons known through the length and breadth of the country. His broad and vigorous work paved the way for the Uniform Lesson plan conceived by his friend, B. F. Jacobs. Yet Eggleston was a vigorous opponent of the plan of uniformity, believing it pedagogically unsound. John H. Vincent, another Sunday-school giant of Chicago, in 1866 began the publication of a paper called the *Sunday School Teacher*. In this he issued a series of lessons entitled "Two Years with Jesus." In 1868 Mr. B. F. Jacobs began in the *Standard*, a Baptist weekly paper, the publication of notes on the Eggleston lessons. The *Standard* was the first paper to print notes on the lessons. Jacobs labored and argued for one lesson for all the classes in each school, one lesson for all schools, and the publication of notes on the lessons in every possible magazine and paper. The enlistment of the periodical press in publishing the courses of study constituted yet another step forward.

When the Fourth National Sunday-school Convention met in 1869 several important steps in the development of the lesson had been taken. It was recognized: (1) that the task of the school was to teach, and that it must

not be confined to the gathering of groups of children for the memorizing of the Bible or for catechetical work; (2) that definite, assigned, selected lessons should be followed in schools; (3) that these lessons should be arranged in series so that there could be some semblance of progress at least through the books that were being studied; (4) that large numbers of schools could very well study the same lesson, instead of allowing each school to spend its energy in preparing its own lessons and working up the materials for them; (5) that the aid of the press might be enlisted for the purpose of popularizing these lessons and placing the material for general preparation where it would be of easy access to almost all students and teachers; and (6) the scheme had been conceived of the single lesson for all schools and all students.

The credit for strenuous advocacy of the single lesson belongs to both B. F. Jacobs and John H. Vincent. No one can decide to whom

First Committee on Lessons belongs the priority, for each worked in his own way. Vincent had the scholar's vision and the enthusiasm of the biblical student; Jacobs had the vigor of the business man and the ardor of a promoter. As a result of their labors the convention of 1869, through its department of superintendents, endorsed the Uniform Lesson plan and appointed a committee

to prepare further plans. Henry Clay Trumbull was the chairman of that committee. A conference of representatives of Sunday-school publications was called by this committee and met in New York in August, 1871. By a vote of twenty-six to three they decided in favor of the uniform lesson scheme and began to plan courses for the next year. A committee consisting of Jacobs, Vincent, Eggleston, Newton, and McCook took charge of this work. After discussing several proposed bases for the lessons, such as doctrines, duties, and the Church Year, it was decided to make the Bible the basis. This meant that the selection of the lessons should be with the view of securing the orderly, systematic study of the Scriptures.

At the meeting of the National Convention in Indianapolis in 1872 it was voted to appoint a committee of five clergymen and five laymen to select a series of lessons for a period not exceeding seven years. It was also decided by the same resolution, despite the vigorous opposition of the trained pedagogue, Eggleston, that the adoption of these lessons be recommended to all the schools of the country. The Lesson Committee was duly appointed and at certain intervals the life of this committee has been continued by the acts of the national convention. From the begin-

First
Regular
Lesson
Committee

ning certain members have been appointed to represent the British schools, and since 1884 there has been a cooperating section of the committee known as the British section. For thirty years the uniform lesson was generally in use in nearly all Sunday-schools through the world.

Whatever we may think today of the educational merits of the plan of Uniform Lessons, it remains true that such a plan was almost inevitable at some time and that it served a highly important and useful purpose in the development of the lessons for the schools. It made possible the cooperation of all denominational and private enterprises for publication and circulation toward one end, that these lessons should be within the financial and intellectual reach of every pupil in every school. It made possible the concentration of all the energies of all the schools upon a single lesson plan, so that the conception of the school as a definite *teaching* agency became fixed beyond any doubt or question. It secured the concentration of Sunday-school leadership and to some extent of biblical scholarship on the selection of the material for the lessons and, more particularly, on the preparation of comments and other aids for teachers. It revealed gradually the pedagogical necessities of the Sunday-school teacher. It enabled us to see, in a clear light, free from the

Service of
Uniform
Lesson

confusion of many lessons, precisely what were the conditions of teaching in each school and what were the requirements of the pupils. At length it brought into clear relief, so sharp that we could not blind ourselves to it, the necessity for a plan of lessons based on the developing natures and needs of those who were being instructed.

Yet no student of the history of the Sunday-school can regard without regret the long period of the dominance of the uniform lesson plan, from 1870 to 1908. Only infatuation for business uniformity blinded the leaders to the wisdom of the simple plans of adaptation suggested by the teacher Eggleston. The scheme of a common lesson was captivating; it would have been sublime if it had gone one step farther and planned a uniform series suited to all ages. The insistent confining of the teaching work of the school to the rigid lines of mechanical, business uniformity seriously retarded its educational development. A school has never been successfully conducted on the plan of a factory. Those forty years were not wholly lost in the desert, but they were largely years of educational wandering or rather standing still when the school ought to have gone forward.

An examination of the biblical material actually used during thirty-three years in the uniform

lessons series reveals some startling facts. It shows, first, that the scheme did not fulfil one of The Bible its most important promises, to guide Not Studied every student through a comprehensive study of the Bible in a period of seven years. Although nearly five such periods elapsed, the lessons were chosen so much at random that large portions of the Bible never were studied at all. For instance, during the thirty-three years only thirty-one out of the fifty chapters in Genesis were studied. Valuable material was strangely slighted in all the books. Only seventeen Psalms were used, and only two chapters in I Chronicles. In the New Testament there were equally striking omissions, so that students remained in ignorance of events essential to an understanding of the history involved. It is not strange that there was much popular ignorance of the Bible when the Sunday-school thus officially cut the book to pieces. Neither is it strange that many who received their biblical instruction under this system think of the Scriptures as a patchwork of unrelated texts.

The system of uniform lessons broke down also by an utter disregard of relative values in the Values biblical material. This is suggested Disregarded in the following comparisons, drawn from the list of lessons for thirty-three years; five lessons on the Beatitudes compared with

twenty-one lessons on the tabernacle and its ceremonies; the "Golden Rule" was used in three lessons, the story of Cain and Abel in four. The beautiful Ruth story was never treated in its entirety but was touched on five times, while there were fourteen lessons from Leviticus and six from Romans xiii. There are forty lessons from the bloody book of Joshua and thirty-one from the book of Isaiah. In thirty-three years there were five lessons from Amos and one each from Joel, Micah, and Nahum. As an attempt to get the best and the most out of the Bible the system could hardly be called a success. Such facts as the foregoing, though seldom expressed in this form, account for much of the growing dissatisfaction with the uniform lesson system.

The third and most serious failure in the uniform lesson scheme was inherent in the very principle of uniformity; it was impossible to select lessons which met equally well the needs of children of five, youths of fifteen, and men of thirty-five.

No study of the Sunday-school, however, would be adequate in any sense which failed to note that the uniform lesson plan was a wide-spread, long-continued campaign for the popular study of biblical literature. Unfortunately the perplexing problems of an adequate

and graded curriculum were persistently ignored. But there are advantages in the fact that they were deferred to a period which, by virtue of the experience gained, was better prepared to deal with them.

At no time has the principle of uniformity in Sunday-school lessons been universally adopted.

Departures from the Uniform Plan Many schools in Great Britain continued their own courses of lessons, and all the schools there maintained a separate scheme of lessons for the second school session. The common practice has been, to follow the uniform lesson in the afternoon schools, while the morning schools followed lessons in that Testament which was not being studied in the uniform series.

The Unitarian schools in the United States hardly ever adopted the uniform lessons. Their Sunday-school society worked steadily to develop a scheme of lessons which should include all the range of religious knowledge and which would be adapted in some degree to the needs of the pupils. The lesson courses included material outside the Bible, such as Ethics, Church history, Heroes of History, the study of the great hymns, and the fundamental doctrines of their churches.

In 1874 the Joint Diocesan Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church was appointed to

prepare suitable lessons for the schools of that church. The general plan was somewhat like that of the International Lesson Committee, but it has worked with greater flexibility so that in time the Episcopal Church has built up an elaborate series of lessons and studies with suitable handbooks on almost every department of Christian knowledge. Under the leadership of some who have given special attention to the needs of the Sunday-school, such as the Reverend Lester Bradner and the Reverend Pascal Harrower, a highly valuable contribution has been made to the development of the curriculum of the Sunday-school and sound principles in pedagogy have been followed as far as circumstances permitted. The New York Diocesan Commission led the way with a graded curriculum.

The spread of diocesan Sunday-school commissions and organizations went on rapidly in the Episcopal Church. At one time it seemed quite likely that many of these commissions would put forth independent curricula and so contribute to the general confusion. But the Joint Commission reporting to the church convention of 1907 laid down certain principles which have been closely followed by the various commissions since that day. Later the official curriculum of the Sunday School Federation was adopted by a majority of the

diocesan organizations.¹ The General Board of Religious Education appointed by the General Convention of the church in October, 1910, are now vested with full authority and are working for further uniformity.

The Friends, or Quakers, particularly those of the Hicksite branch, have developed independent lesson systems. These include a broad range of subjects, notably lessons on organized charity, social duties, and ethics. The Lutheran schools, while often adopting the International lessons, have also prepared lessons of their own, particularly those on the catechisms of their church. Naturally the Hebrew schools and those of the Roman Catholic Church have their own plans of lessons.

The divergent lesson schemes mentioned above, however, were usually the result of aims or methods of organization peculiar to these denominations. But it was not long after the general adoption of the uniform lesson plan that criticism began to arise. Heard only occasionally at first it gradually grew in volume and significance. It is not possible to review the various objections here;² suffice it

¹ For an account of the plan and curriculum of the Joint Commission see article by Pascal Harrower in *Religious Education* for June, 1910.

² See for a full and authoritative presentation of these reasons

to say that the most serious objection, the one that at last led to the abandonment of the ideal of absolute uniformity, was that (it was educationally unsound in that it disregarded absolutely the varying needs of the pupils; it compelled the little child to study the same lesson material as the mature and experienced adult; it meant either meat for both men and babes or milk for both. The gradual recognition of the educational function of the Sunday-school and the consequent necessary adoption of educational principles of operation and of selection and preparation of lesson material compelled all serious-minded persons to reconsider the merits of the ideal of one lesson for all schools and for all students.

One other objection to the uniform lesson led to several interesting experiments in Sunday-school curricula. It was urged that the single lesson, conducting all students once in every seven years in a rather random fashion through certain parts of the Bible, necessarily left unstudied much valuable biblical material, not adapted to all classes. By its insistence on the Scripture-section plan it prevented the consideration of almost every aspect of the Bible except its expository use, and it altogether excluded the study of such

Experiments
—Supple-
mental
Lessons

the volume in this series by Meyer, *The Graded Sunday School in Principle and Practice*, pp. 96-101.

subjects as later church history, missions, church organization, and modern ethical problems. To meet the need thus suggested the plan of Supplementary Lessons was introduced and at first met with quite general favor. Short lessons on a wide variety of subjects, such as biblical geography, the making of the Bible, church history and doctrine were prepared. The plan was to present these short lessons in a ten-minute period before or after the regular lesson period. This plan, though pushed with much vigor, served only to emphasize the need of a greatly enriched curriculum and to inspire many writers to prepare more adequate text materials on subjects which had been hitherto much neglected by the schools.

Two other interesting steps in the development of the curriculum of the Sunday-school must be noted: The introduction of temperance lessons and the provision for the study of missions. The interest of the school in temperance was only an indication of its recognition of responsibility for more than the student's biblical knowledge. Bands of Hope and children's total abstinence societies were the first manifestations of this enlarged sense of responsibility. At the convention held at Pittsburgh in 1890 the agitation for the teaching of temperance in the schools was so strong that it

Later Ex-
periments
Temperance
Lessons

was determined to set aside one Sunday in each quarter of the year as Temperance Sunday. On this day a lesson on this subject was to be taught. Many fruitless attempts have since been made to rescind this action or to avoid the breach in the continuity of teaching which it caused. However, as graded systems came into use it was found possible to work out logically the germinal principle of temperance teaching and to give regular, systematic instruction in hygiene from the Christian point of view. Then such studies were incorporated in the curricula of a number of schools.

In the British Sunday-schools the interest in Foreign Missions was maintained by the custom of devoting all the offerings in the Mission Studies classes to the missionary societies. Sunday-school leaders in the United States early advocated the stimulation of missionary interest, but they were slow to perceive that the knowledge of the extension of the Kingdom was part of a child's religious birthright and quite essential to his usefulness in Christian service. The Young People's Missionary Movement called a conference of Sunday-school workers at Silver Bay, New York, in July, 1906, at which plans for missionary instruction were agreed upon. It was provided that, in addition to the designating of those lessons which had explicit missionary inci-

dents or interest as such, the endeavor should be made to relate all lessons to this subject. This unpedagogical arrangement failed to content schools with an educational conscience, but it served to quicken the preparation of special courses in missions. In later years the need for missionary study was met by (1) the organization of special classes, often meeting in the week; (2) the creation of a department on missions in the school, and (3) by special courses in the graded curriculum.

The formal commitment of the International Sunday School Association to the plan of a *com-Beginners' pletely graded course of study* came *Lessons* about at the general convention of the Association held in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1908. The steps of progress leading up to the adoption of that plan covered many years and were known publicly from about 1900. As early as 1894 the International Primary Union made its appeal for a course of lessons especially adapted to the children under six. The course prepared, however, met with little favor. The New Jersey Sunday School Association then issued a two-years' course known as *Bible Lessons for Little Beginners*. This was widely adopted. Following the path marked out by these lessons the Lesson Committee prepared in 1901 a new course for one year and at the time of the Denver Convention, 1902, a course for

two years was authorized. Within a short time it was reported that twenty-five per cent of the schools had adopted this course for their primary pupils. This applied only to the United States and Canada, for the British members of the Lesson Committee did not commit themselves to the plan.

While the Denver Convention met the wishes of the workers in the primary departments of the Sunday-schools it disappointed the Adult Studies wishes of those who advocated other and more suitable lessons for the adult members in the schools. The Lesson Committee prepared a course covering two years in response to the demands of many adult classes desiring some plan of study better adapted to their needs than that furnished in the Uniform Lessons. But the delegates at the convention rejected this part of the report of the Lesson Committee and denied the advanced schools the privilege of an officially planned and recognized course. At the next convention, in Toronto, in 1905, permission was given the Lesson Committee to plan advanced courses suitable for adult classes, and this it proceeded to do after not a little experimentation. The first course to be definitely offered was on *The Ethical Teachings of Jesus*.

The years from 1903 to 1908 constitute one of the most critical periods in the history of the

American Sunday-school. They witnessed the rapid adoption of the practice of grading the schools and the intense agitation of educational leaders for a properly graded curriculum. The schools were free to grade as seemed wise to them. They were at serious disadvantage as to graded materials of study so long as the uniform lessons alone had the endorsement of the Sunday School Association. Criticism of the lessons gathered strength from several sources: (1) from the general appreciation of popular ignorance of the Bible; (2) from the dissatisfaction of teachers who met the practical difficulties involved in teaching these lessons; (3) from the attention which trained educators were giving to the school; and (4) from recognition of the superiority of the several series of graded lessons prepared by independent publishers.

Reform was effected by the courage and persistence of a few who had seen the established educational principles underlying the work of the school. They faced derision and steady opposition. At first they found opportunity to express themselves only in meetings of those who were protesting and through a few journals. Their proposals for graded lessons met the conservatism natural to large institutions such as in the International Association. They met also the objections of denominational publishers

who had made large investments in the machinery for handling the uniform lessons. But though often misunderstood the agitators also persisted. They came to a consciousness of their strength when the Religious Education Association was organized. Its conventions gave opportunity for careful discussion and its publications secured a wide hearing for their arguments and plans. It was not long before the leaders in several of the larger denominations were convinced. The Methodist Episcopal Sunday School Union spoke emphatically through its corresponding secretary, Reverend John T. McFarland, D.D. He declared unequivocally for a graded lesson scheme. He secured the services of accomplished writers and biblical students for the preparation of lessons.

Before the convention of the International Association met at Louisville in 1908, the officers seriously faced the problem of fully
 Preparations
 for Graded
 Lessons graded lessons. Several conferences were held with editorial writers, publishers, and educators. The first was held in London, England, October 31 to November 1, 1906. The second in the same city, June, 1907, witnessed a complete change in the British committee. Several English educators had been added to that body and they stood for progress. The next important conference was held in Boston in January, 1908, when fifty-four persons con-

sidered the question, "The International Lesson System — How may it be Improved?" The result of the deliberations was agreement on a broad policy, which was summarized somewhat as follows: (1) That the system of a general lesson for the whole school, which has been in successful use for thirty-five years, is still the most practicable and effective system for the great majority of the Sunday-schools of North America. Because of its past accomplishments, its present usefulness, and its future possibilities, we recommend its continuance and its fullest development. (2) That the need for a graded system of lessons is expressed by so many Sunday-schools and workers, that it should be adequately met by the International Sunday School Association, and that the lesson committee should be instructed by the next international convention to continue the preparation of a thoroughly graded course covering the entire range of the Sunday-school.

Results followed the reaction at Toronto and the succeeding conferences and agitation. When the International Association met at Louisville, Kentucky, in 1908, it voted unanimously, "That this Convention authorize its Lesson Committee also to continue the preparation of a thoroughly graded course of lessons, which may be used by any Sunday-school which desires it, whether in whole or in part."

Results of
Graded
Courses

Meanwhile the publishers of lesson material had been making careful preparation for such action and there was then ready for presentation to the Lesson Committee a carefully prepared system of lessons for the years from seven to thirteen inclusive. The American section of the Lesson Committee adopted these lessons and they were ready for the teachers and classes in the school with the beginning of the year's work in the fall of 1909. The demand for the outlines of these lessons and for the quarterlies and text books containing the material was a surprise to all publishers. They were overwhelmed with orders. There was immediate popular appreciation of the step taken. The general recognition of the need for graded lessons was much greater than had been realized.

While the International Sunday School Association, with the deliberation characteristic of **Individual** any large and popular movement, had **Pioneers** been coming to the adoption of the plan of graded curricula, other persons and organizations had been working out graded lesson courses. The Religious Education Association had persistently urged the educational necessity for graded lessons. Resolutions had been prepared and offered from many denominational and similar bodies and from groups of Sunday-school workers. By various means the public mind had been

educated to the principle of the gradation of the lesson material. Some of the schools which led in the preparation of their own lesson courses were the Church of the Disciples, Roxbury, Massachusetts; The First Congregational Church, Oakland, California; The Hyde Park Baptist Church, Chicago, Illinois; The University Congregational Church of the same city; the school maintained at Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York; and the St. Agnes Chapel Sunday-school of Trinity Parish, New York.

One of the factors contributing to the development of Sunday-school lesson material has been the organization, in different denominations, of special groups to study the needs of graded Bible schools. One of the best illustrations of this method is found in the work of a Congregational committee, "On a course of study for graded Bible schools." This committee has been in existence and has rendered annual reports since May 21, 1901. It is appointed by the association of Congregational churches for Illinois. Seven of their reports are in print. They give annually the progress in the adoption of ideals of gradation in the schools of Illinois, the definite plans of work used by schools, and book-lists of text material divided into grades for the schools.

Other denominations have rendered at different

times like service. The Northern Baptist Convention at its meeting in Portland, Oregon, in May, 1909, appointed a commission on the "Coordination of the educational agencies of the local church."

The
Church
School

This commission consisted of nine members, held a number of meetings in 1909 and 1910, and presented a significant report at the convention of its denomination held at Chicago in May, 1910. This report, amongst other things, defined religious education as "The development of religious life in fulness and efficiency." It went on to suggest that all the educational work of the church should be under the direction of an organization to be known as "The school of the church" and that the "school of the church . . . should include not only the work done in the Sunday school but the educational activities of the church, . . . so conducted as to contribute in due proportion in each period of life to the increase of knowledge, the education of the emotions, and the development of activity." The commission also published a table indicating the sources and types of material then available for a graded curriculum to cover all the activities of the church and the needs of a developing religious life.

Manifestly it would be impossible to make mention of every serious attempt to meet the need for graded lesson material for the school,

but several enterprises deserve more than the brief description possible here. The most notable is that known as *The Constructive Bible Series Studies*, published by the University of Chicago Press. This is probably the most complete series of carefully prepared text-books for the school. All are written by authors of repute and scholarship. It includes text-books, usually with lessons outlined for a year's work, for all the grades of a school. Studies are so suited to each grade that the whole field of biblical knowledge is properly covered. Other subjects such as Christian ethics and history are treated in their proper places. The Pilgrim Press also prepared some particularly useful books to meet the need of adult classes. These rendered valuable service especially during the period of agitation for lesson material suited to adults. The *Graded Manuals* of the Unitarian Sunday School Society were prepared during a long period of time, from 1850 on. They cover a wider range of subjects than any other up to 1910, and are worthy of note, both for their comprehensiveness and for the amount of extra-biblical material. In 1910 an entirely new series of graded texts was projected by this society.

One of the most serious attempts to meet the need of a graded curriculum for the Sunday-school was the work of the Bible Study Union. This

organization, by agitation and by the production of suitable graded material, created standards and largely stimulated the unrest which led to the general adoption of the graded curricula. It was the result of the personal experience of the Reverend Erastus Blakeslee as pastor of a Congregational church in Spencer, Massachusetts. In 1888 he planned lessons for his young people's Bible class which met in the week. The experiment proved so successful that Mr. Blakeslee conceived the plan of similar lessons for the Sunday-school. His general idea was to give first a broad study of the Bible as a whole and to follow this in later years with a more particular and careful study of its parts. In 1890 Mr. Blakeslee published a series of lessons on the Life of Christ. The next year the Bible Study Publishing Company was organized in Boston. In 1894 publications were issued for the departments or broad gradations of the school. Later, further divisions were made and a closer gradation was adopted. The plan was under the direction of the Bible Study Union, an organization which included some of the leading religious educators. They employed, for the preparation of lessons, some of the best biblical experts of that time. This was the first attempt on any large scale to prepare for all Sunday-schools lessons which might be regarded as covering the

field of Bible study in a comprehensive manner, and guided by the general principle of variety of treatment suited to the needs of the different grades. A large number of schools adopted these studies. The courses of lessons were improved from year to year and in 1910 the organization began the publication of a completely graded series embracing six separate courses with special text-books and treatment for practically every year of Sunday-school life.

So through many decades the curricula and lesson materials of the school have been developing. Beginning with the ardent efforts of those who were zealous for the word of God this institution has increasingly won the attention and the expert services of educational leaders. The multiplicity of text-books at the beginning of this new period of thorough gradation tends, not to confusion, but to more careful adaptation. The tendency to the presentation of lesson material in text-book form gives promise of value and permanency. It points to the day when it will be as easy to select material precisely suitable for any class as it now is to do the same in any other school.

X

THE PERIOD OF INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT

DURING the greater part of the nineteenth century the Sunday-school was in the process of coming to recognition as an educational agency. The emphasis, generally speaking, was upon its extension rather than upon its internal development and improvement. It was the period of the organization of new schools, the extension of existing schools into new fields, and of efforts to include all the persons in their parishes. The school grew from a small and somewhat unimportant venture in behalf of destitute and ignorant children into a real and important special department of church life. In the end of the century it developed from a somewhat indefinite organization into an organization for a clearly recognized specific purpose.

If about 1850 one had asked a pastor or a Sunday-school officer what these schools were, **Changing** he would have answered: "They are **Emphasis** the nurseries of the church." That was one of the stock phrases for the school. They

were the means by which the church sought to minister to the children and to hold them for herself. The same question forty years later would have elicited a different answer: "They are the Bible schools of the churches." That is to say, the church had committed to these institutions the special task of teaching the Bible to all her people. Still later, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the answer, if it came from those who watched and measured progress, would probably be: "These are the schools of the church; they exist especially for the training and development of the people of the church in Christian character and in Christian service."

In other words, the beginning of the twentieth century saw the general recognition of the special function of this institution. It was seen as the particular agency or organization which was seeking to realize the great purposes of the church by the educational method. In the various names given to this organization the emphasis has gradually shifted something like this: *Sunday-school*, *Bible school*, *Church school*. This change can be readily traced in several ways.

First, in the topics of inquiry amongst Sunday-school workers, as seen in programs of institutes and conventions. All persons of mature years can remember when the great, popular ques-

Becomes
the School
of the
Church

tions were: "How can we increase attendance?" "How get all the people in the school?" "One or two schools on Sunday?" "Morning vs. Afternoon schools." "The organization of new schools." One finds in these programs occasional recognition of the problem of education, especially as to matters of discipline. Usually, however, the conception was the mechanical one which accompanied the vision of the school only from the point of view of organization and numbers. Later there emerged a large number of questions on Bible study. The uniform lessons came to the front. Excitement rose high on methods of securing the interest of the whole world in Bible study. That was a motive by no means to be despised or minimized. The focusing of the attention of so many on Bible study probably brought larger results to the church than we shall ever accurately estimate. Programs were crowded with problems of teaching the Bible to persons of all ages. Lectures and institutes for Bible study arose. The very concentration on this subject of study, the custom of regarding this as a school especially for the Bible, just as another institution may be a school of music, quickly brought the realization of the necessity of making it a school indeed. The subject of study was evidently so large and important that only the best educational methods

Changes in
Topics of
Interest

could be adequate for it. Then when it was settled that the Bible was the principal text-book in the Sunday school, the questions of method arose. Programs began to look very much like those used for teachers' institutes in public-school work. Today the school uses on its convention and institute programs some of the foremost specialists in education in the country. These lines of emphasis were not contradictory; each new one was in no sense destructive of the preceding. They were cumulative, complementary, and progressive. Each emphasis made its contribution. Progress is ever in this way, by series of emphases which carry us forward so that at each step we take into the new day some of the riches of the old.

Development may be traced very easily also in Sunday-school literature. A file of the Sunday-school journals of any denomination is a good mirror of popular estimates of the school. Compare the large number of articles on questions of organization, with special reference to duties of officers and teachers, in the journals of, say, 1880 and the type of article now most common, such as studies in the fundamental educational considerations, namely the nature of the child, or the processes of learning, or the laws of the development of character. At the earlier period the authorities were those who had

Develop-
ment of
Literature

met with success in the business of recruiting and handling large numbers of children; in the latter period our teachers on Sunday-school science are those who speak with authority on the principles of education with special reference to the development of the spirit of religion in the life.

Development may be traced also in special organizations designed to aid the school and its workers. In the case of the International Sunday School Association its first general officer was a Field Secretary who gave his attention, in the interim between conventions, to the extension of the school as an institution. Mr. B. F. Jacobs was a Sunday-school man in the sense of seeking to bring about the day when every church and mission would have a school. His aim also was that each school should enlist all its people. True these officers did not organize schools; they stimulated their organization. Today this Association has a number of special secretaries whose duties are those of developing the efficiency of the schools as such. There are officers in charge of special departments, such as the Primary, Intermediate, and Adult, who are fully alive to the need for specialization. Others are in charge of special interests, such as Education (stimulating adequate teacher-training), Missions, and Temperance.

Development can be traced in other great

Sunday-school organizations and movements. One of the most important of all the organizations seeking the greater efficiency of Primary — the school grew up within the organized Union ranks. It was that which is now known as the International Primary Union. At the International Convention in 1887 Mr. and Mrs. W. N. Hartshorn drew attention to the importance of properly meeting the needs of very small children. That was the first general recognition of a movement then several years old. As early as 1870 the teachers of primary classes in Newark, New Jersey, met and organized a Primary Union. Later teachers of primary groups created similar organizations in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D. C. These primary unions existed, not only to show teachers how to present the lesson for the next Sunday, but to carry on regular courses of study in child-nature, in pedagogy (especially for the primary and kindergarten), and in methods. They became voluntary training schools. It is said that in one of these the use of the blackboard was first suggested and though, as Mrs. J. W. Barnes says, this was "criticised as secularizing the Sunday-school," it naturally won its way into use throughout the school. As year after year new Unions were formed, new courses were developed, and many institutes were held. The primary department

of the Sunday-school received a wonderful stimulus toward intensive development. The organization of primary workers blazed the way for the organization of the whole school upon modern lines.

There is no chapter more important in the history of the modern development of the Sunday-school than that which relates to the early efforts for the organization and development of the primary department.

This is so, first, because they dealt with the problems of the Sunday-school at the beginning of its work with the child. The improvements secured were felt all through the school as the individual pupils advanced from grade to grade. Second, and most important, the women in the primary unions came very early under the influence of certain great educators. They listened to loyal kindergarteners, and became disciples of Pestalozzi and Froebel. As a result they proceeded to organize the primary department on the only sound and enduring basis, upon the laws of the life of the child. They became enthusiasts in child-study; that is essentially the secret of all their success. Third, they led the movement for graded lessons. This movement grew naturally and inevitably out of the study of the child. They learned the laws of the child life, discovered his normal spiritual needs, and properly demanded that he should

have suitable food. It is doubtful if the movement for graded lessons would have achieved success within the regular Sunday-school organization but for the pioneer work of primary teachers. Other causes contributed, but this one operated powerfully in many of the most conservative schools. Fourth, the primary unions led the way in teacher-training; their work was principally that of teacher-training. When they could point to the striking development of the primary department in the schools, and when the churches became proud of their primaries, it was evident that this kind of work paid. The primary unions, with their propaganda, which met with not a little scoffing and coldness at times, became the demonstrators of better things in Sunday-school methods.

Other organizations also played their part in the development of the school as an educational agency. The school was deeply indebted to those who began to provide better graded lesson courses; to the group promoting what was called "supplemental study," to superintendents, unions, and to such organizations as the Religious Education Association. All were evidences of the fact that the church was awakening to the value of the educational method. All were indications of conscientious efforts to do divine service according to the divine laws of character development.

XI

CAUSES AND FACTORS IN RECENT DEVELOPMENT

THE Sunday-school made greater progress in the ten years following 1890 than in any like period, perhaps than in any century of its history. The immediate factors were: the grouping of leaders into new organizations with timely ideals, new life in the International Sunday School Association, the work of the Religious Education Association, the endeavors of the great denominational leaders, and the examples of individual schools which worked out significant experiments. But back of these factors great forces were at work. The Sunday-school changed because the world's thought changed. This school developed because education in general took great strides forward.

One of the most serious questions for any student of the development of the Sunday-school is whether this institution has kept pace with the development of other educational institutions. This inquiry is only part of another and more important one, whether the Sunday-school has kept pace with the develop-

*The School
and the Life
of Today*

ment of human thought. This is a question manifestly of first importance to the school, for if it is to be the chief minister of the church to the religious development of the young it must properly prepare the young for the life and the thought of the world into which they are to go. On the other hand it is important to know whether the school has received whatever benefit might be derivable from human progress.

At first it may seem as though the Sunday-school has felt the current of the world's thought in only a slight degree and, to any
Period of Change noticeable or valuable extent, only in rare instances. No other period, unless it be that of the reign of Elizabeth of England, can compare with the last half of the nineteenth century as to philosophical progress and certainly no other of which we know can compare as to scientific discovery. Indeed the value of the philosophical development of this period lies in the fact that it is based upon scientific discovery. Men have come, by vast strides, nearer than ever before to thinking the universe into unity. Modern philosophy has given human importance to religion. It can no longer be regarded by any thoughtful person as the concern of a few. It is part of the common race inheritance and of the great problem of human existence. All our later philosophy tends to center about the religious

problem. It follows that any institution which exists to teach religion becomes of new importance.

The effect of modern philosophy is not seen so much in the teaching in the school or in the subjects taught as in the attention which **Effect of Philosophy** leaders of thought, particularly in education, have been giving to the institution itself in the last two decades. Further, the most superficial survey shows that the Sunday-school in the last few years has come to popular religious importance largely as a result of the general movement for education. Now this is only to say that the school had been feeling right along, though somewhat remotely, the currents of world thought, for the best expression of the development of the modern world spirit is to be seen in our educational advance and interest.

The first few years even of the twentieth century afford indubitable evidence of the influence of **Influence of Scientific Thought** modern scientific thought on the Sunday-school. The school is seen in these years rapidly shifting its center from the Bible to the child, coming to exist for the latter rather than for the former, and to use the former for the sake of the latter. Sunday-school leaders began to insist that the school exists not to teach the Bible but to educate children as religious persons and to use the Bible together with whatever may be best to this end. With

the child as the center it became evident that curriculum, organization, and methods must all be based on the child's needs, determined by his characteristics and governed by the laws of his life. This is an entire change of basis of which we at this day are hardly conscious, so rapidly and yet so steadily and assuredly has it come about. The profound reason for the change is found in the larger world of scientific thinking, particularly in the rise of what is often called the "new psychology." In the development of scientific thought psychology has passed from merely empirical study of the phenomena of the mind to a scientific study of the laws of consciousness. It attempts to discover in terms of a unified, harmonious life the laws under which personality develops. The advent of the inductive study of the higher life has given a true, reliable, and scientific basis for all the work of the Sunday-school. The modern educational situation has also made it evident that the work of this school is the development of that higher life. The Sunday-school, awakened to a realization of the fact that it is the institution which has for its specific aim the development of the religious life, should be the first to yield implicit obedience to the laws of this life as they are discovered.

By the recognition of the fundamental principles of psychology the Sunday-school has also been

swung into the currents of modern world thought. Let one think long enough and he will be inclined to say that few if any have influenced this institution more than Charles Darwin, the biologist. A history is no place for prophecy; but at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century it is so evident that the schools are by hundreds being reorganized in accord with the principles of genetic psychology that this assertion is not wholly prophetic. The new psychology is the child of the doctrine of evolution, the former unthinkable without the latter. The psychology which the modern Sunday-school teacher learns is distinguished by two great characteristics: (1) it regards the human being in every aspect of his life as a product of a long course of development and it regards him as a unit, a complex personality, and not a bundle of faculties. Out of the first conception grows our genetic psychology.¹ The child stands at the fulness of the ages; (2) it insists that education is the development of the whole life as a whole, not the conservation of a special part called the soul, still less the training of the faculties called the mind, but the development of a whole and indivisible personality into

¹ For the credit due to Darwin see G. S. Hall in address at Darwin Centenary, American Association for Advancement of Science, January, 1909.

the possession of all its powers, into reception of all its inheritances, into adjustment to all life, into efficiency in every phase of living and serving. It would be fairly just to say that the Sunday-school was regarded in the middle nineteenth century as the training school for the soul, the public school as for the mind, while the body usually took its chances. The sweep of scientific thinking has unified all educational agencies so that all are recognized as dealing with the whole of personality. The Sunday-school has to do with bodies, brain and faith, sensation and emotion, blood-flow and hope, respiration and aspiration, muscles and habits. It has to do with the whole of every life and so it becomes a real part of the entire educational life of the people.

Such new thoughts — and not long ago they were wonderfully new — profoundly influenced Sunday-school practice. They first focussed
 The Child
 Central attention on the child and compelled every one to study the child with scientific care and sympathy. They remodeled the organization of the school by the recognition of the principle of development in the life of the child and the need of adaptation of material taught, type of organization, and method of teaching to the developing life. Hence the graded school. They rearranged the curriculum and introduced new elements, suiting the subjects to the developing

life. They recognized that those periods in which the interests of each individual are those of savagery, barbarism, or early civilization, are in part the survival of characteristics derived from early racial experiences. The school conforms to the law that the curricula material must be determined by these normal genetic interests. Hence the graded lesson.

The latest period of Sunday-school history witnesses the singular spectacle of a relatively small number of persons intelligently reorganizing the Sunday-school in obedience to the laws of modern scientific thought. A larger number, recognizing the need of reorganization, are adopting the plans of the few as though these plans were specious tricks and devices promising success. The few are the foremost men in education, those who have studied the laws of life, who are trained in psychology, and acquainted with world philosophy. Out of their consciousness of the importance of the Sunday-school and of their hope of its improvement rose the Religious Education Association. These men are giving to the school their best trained thought. Through them it feels the influence of modern progress, both scientific and philosophical. The many follow, often unconscious of the leadership, yet honestly and earnestly desiring improvement.

The important thing to see clearly is that the remarkable development of the Sunday-school in the beginning of the twentieth century, as indicated in organizations, discussions, literature, and individual effort for its improvement is due not to any passing spasm of interest, and not to any emotional regard for the child as such, and not to the invention of numerous devices to make a school more attractive and so beguile larger numbers into it. On the contrary, this development is due to the influence of scientific thought, to the fact that practically all men, even those who seem to be uneducated, now think in terms of a new world, of a universe developing under law. We have come to accept the principle that man is developing as part of his universe, to accept the new meaning of education as part of our world process. Education is development. We count on character by development. We acknowledge the necessity of knowing all the factors that enter into that development. The Sunday-school leaders insist that this institution, existing for the development of the child as a religious being, shall become obedient to those laws that "in Nature's infinite book of secrecy" we can read. The scientific mind accounts for the new Sunday-school. Great movements in thought have found practical expression. The

New
Meanings in
Religious
Education

effect of changes in the world of science and in the field of education has been manifest directly in the work of the church and the Sunday-school. Practical results have followed.

The first of these was the awakening of the church to the importance of the Sunday-school.

An Awakened Church This was preceded by an awakening to the importance of the child, due to the work of Pestalozzi and Froebel, the leaders in natural training for the child. From their work grew popular interest in kindergartens and better schools for little children. Then came scientific investigations into the life of the young child and the quick recognition of the crucial character of this period in its relation to character development. The church, following the lead of education, set the child in the midst and that brought the school before her eyes.

Next came an awakening to the inadequacy of the Sunday-school, as it was then organized, **Recognition of Needs** to meet the task that confronted it. This found expression in current Sunday-school literature most clearly about 1890. Sermons and articles in many publications indicated a clear recognition of the fact that the great responsibility for direct religious instruction rested on the church. Writers often took a pessimistic attitude toward the fact that the school faced this great opportunity with an untrained force

of workers. The church was inclined to join in the chorus of ridicule and despair at the institution for which she had failed to make any sort of serious provision. It became the fad to poke fun at the school. But men of vision, just then, in both church and school, men like William R. Harper, Frank K. Sanders, George Albert Coe, and others, devoted their time and attention to its problems.

One of the most important factors in modern progress was the creation of a new literature which
A New Literature treated the school seriously and applied to its problems the results of recent educational science and the services of trained investigators. Following the work of practical leaders like John H. Vincent and H. C. Trumbull, the new type of book came into the school. One of the first was the result of a series of lectures delivered in New York under the auspices of the Diocesan Sunday-school Commission for that city in 1899.¹ Published the following year this book made a profound impression. It was followed shortly by several careful works on the organization of the school, such as Burton and Mathews' *Principles and Ideals in the Sunday School* and Haslett's *Pedagogical Sunday School*. Specialized literature followed on different phases of the work of the school, notably books

¹ *The Principles of Religious Education*, Longmans, Green & Co.

on child-study for the Sunday-school teacher. The work of G. Stanley Hall was notable here, and along with it, for practical value, that of George A. Coe and Edwin D. Starbuck. Teachers were by this time, after 1890, being taught to read and use modern books in psychology. Reading courses were arranged, including the work of authors and investigators such as Baldwin, Sully, and Oppenheim. Then came parallel development in the art of teaching, the use of the best that had been written on pedagogy. Sunday-school teachers began to take their work so seriously that experts from the normal colleges were no longer ashamed to accept appointments to lecture before groups of these teachers. The extensive literature gathered and published by the Religious Education Association, prepared by educational authorities and popularized for practical workers, contributed steadily in these directions.

No single form of practical effort has produced larger results for the development of the Sunday-school than that of the publication of books, pamphlets, and special articles dealing with its educational principles and their practical application. Nowhere can the progress and improvement of this institution be more clearly traced than in the books of the two decades from 1890 on. In 1910 the Relig-

ious Education Association had over twenty-five hundred books in its Exhibit-Library. One fourth of these books dealt with principles and methods in religious education, and of these nearly every one was written after 1900. The creation of this new and highly valuable literature indicates the most important of all factors in Sunday-school progress; that educational leaders were recognizing the possibilities of the school, were thinking of it seriously, and were beginning to make the contribution of their technical training and wide experience to its improvement. If one were asked to state in a single phrase what seemed to be the single factor most adequately accounting for the remarkable progress made by this institution in recent times, the answer would have to be: the recognition of its place and possibilities as an *educational* institution.

The new life in the school found expression, also, in new boards and committees in the denominational Commissions and new tasks committed to old boards and denominational organizations. It found expression in local churches, as in the Methodist Church at Akron, Ohio, where a new type of building for the school was erected, and where Lewis Miller was given liberty to work out his plans of gradation; in Hyde Park, Chicago, where a building was designed for the school (used also for the congrega-

tion for fourteen years) and where the president of the University gave himself to the work of organizing a Sunday-school on modern educational principles.

The improvement in architecture deserves especial notice because it was the recognition of the **Architecture** sound educational principle of the importance of proper physical conditions. It was significant, also, as a form of improvement which cost money, a sure test of deep-seated earnestness. The first advance was the provision of a separate room for the school. By 1880 leading churches saw the necessity of constructing this room so that at least a large part of it was easily divided into many small class rooms. This was the plan of the Beltram school, in Philadelphia, the Akron school, and many others erected about this time. Later came the building divided into at least two main parts, so that the elementary and the advanced pupils met and studied entirely separately. Next came the scheme of a separate building — a plan which had been in operation in many English schools for a long time. But in America the educational purpose and the needs of classes dominated the architecture of this separate building. Examples of early special buildings were the Central Church and the Brick Church, of Rochester, New York; the Kimler Memorial, New Jersey; and St. Lucas Church,

Evansville, Indiana. Two well-known architects gave special attention at this time to schools to suit modern needs; they were Clarence H. Blackall, of Boston, and George W. Kramer, of New York. In 1909 the Colorado and the South Dakota Sunday School Associations offered prizes for the best designs of modern buildings and the former issued a valuable pamphlet showing useful plans. This year the office of the Religious Education Association received four times as many inquiries for modern educational building plans as in any year before.

Given a suitable building, something more was needed — an educator to direct the work. Paid teachers began with Robert Raikes; Directors of Religious Education paid superintendents were rare but not unknown at the beginning of the twentieth century. But the conception of the school as a serious educational agency demanded nothing less than a man who should be a specialist in religious education. The first step in this direction was taken by the New Haven Religious Education Federation, which in 1907 engaged the Reverend Harold Hunting to do for the Sunday-schools the work that a superintendent of education would do for all the public schools of a city. The next year an important step was taken by several churches which employed, exclusively for their local work, Directors of Relig-

ious Education. The most notable example was the First Presbyterian Church of Buffalo, New York, since it called to this position a man of experience and one who had for years specialized in religious education. Its Director, the Reverend William H. Boocock, was entrusted with the task of organizing all the educational work of the church into effective unity. Other leading churches followed this example and in a short time the Congregational churches in Oakland, California; Evanston, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; and Boston. Baptist churches in St. Louis; Providence, Rhode Island; Rochester, New York; and other churches in Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York were employing men for this work.

The Directors of Religious Education are not parish visitors or assistant pastors; their sole business is with the educational work of the church centering in the Sunday-school. They must organize it, relate its parts and activities, bring all the educational work of the church into coordination under it, and set up in the church a workable and effective system of religious education. They are really educational experts, specially trained and ordained to this function in the church. This new office and new ministry was made possible through the developing interest in religious education, and the courses

of training offered in Chicago, Yale, Union, and the Hartford School of Religious Pedagogy.

One other interesting development took place early in the twentieth century, the establishment of day kindergartens in numerous churches. They continued the indirect religious education of the little child all through the week. Their work led to the adoption of improved kindergarten methods and the establishment of kindergarten departments in the Sunday-schools.

Another notable factor in Sunday-school progress was the extent to which, particularly under the stimulus of the Religious Education Source of Specialists Association, distinguished specialists in religious education began to give attention to this institution. The work of the association had this effect, that while it brought the severest criticism to bear on the school it turned the energies of competent critics from ridicule and derision to serious and helpful cooperation. Leading psychologists like G. Stanley Hall, Edwin D. Starbuck, and others, leading students of education like Nicholas M. Butler, George A. Coe, William H. P. Faunce, and other authorities in pedagogy began to study the child and the school and to offer for the improvement of the latter the best that the modern science of education could give.

Some of these men worked steadily in Sunday-schools; some gave their attention to working out experiments in particular schools or to organizing model schools, as, for example, the one organized at Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York. This school was transferred to Union Theological Seminary in 1910. It meets in class rooms at the Seminary, each room having special educational equipment, trained teachers, and careful supervision. The size of every class is limited and all the work is graded on modern principles. The work is conducted under the direction of members of the staff of the Seminary.

Whatever the future may hold, it is safe to say that by the advent of the twentieth century the Sunday-school had entered on a new era. The earnestness with which its people had supported its work was rewarded by its recognition as an educational agency. That earnestness was carried forward into new endeavors for efficiency. No longer neglected by the church, no longer derided by the schools, no longer the object of cheap criticism in the press, no longer calmly and uniformly degraded to the basement of the church, no longer compelled to carry on a large work without financial support from the church, but recognized as the great opportunity of the church for childhood, as the

central and specific organization of the church for religious education, supported by public opinion, stimulated by great organizations, studied and aided by experts and specialists, facing the future with faith and open-mindedness, who can tell what the coming days may mean to the Sunday-school?

XII

THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEACHER

OUR modern emphasis on the training of the teacher may not be as modern as we sometimes think. ✓The scribes were trained men, able to read the Word and to make its meaning plain to the people. ✓The teachers in the synagogues were trained men. CJesus was a wonderful teacher of teachers. As Bruce in his *Training of the Twelve* shows, he spent a large part of his ministry in the work of teacher-training. The teachers in the early churches were usually those who were devoting their lives to religious work.

The development of the science of education led to a new sense of the importance of thorough professional training for the teacher in public education.

Long ago such sagacious educators as the Jesuits trained the teachers for their religious schools with a course covering from
Pioneer Teacher of Teachers fifteen to eighteen years and including much practice work. Ratich, of Holstein (born 1571), one of the little known but

most far-seeing of European educators, spent his time in advocating to teachers the sound principles of pedagogy. Comenius, of Moravia (born 1592), spent years of his life demonstrating his theories in a model school especially for teachers. Since 1837¹ institutes for the training of teachers have been held. In more recent times the work of Horace Mann in the United States gave valuable impulse to the ideal of the adequately trained teacher.

The demand for the training of the teacher came from within, rather than from without. It

Teachers came out of the teachers' consciousness
 Seeking of need for more adequate preparation.
 Preparation At first it was principally a demand for preparation on the subjects to be taught. Nearly all the early lesson books, the separate and independent little texts, attempted to meet this need by suggestions to the teacher or what were called "teacher's aids." When the lesson plans were so systematized that all the teachers in a school were teaching the same lesson, it was suggested that these teachers should meet together weekly for advance study of the lesson. The weekly preparation classes, advocated in the Sunday-school literature of the middle of the nineteenth century, were doubtless the forerunners of later organized teacher-training.

¹ Brown, *Sunday School Movements*, p. 92.

Alongside of the development of the familiar weekly teachers' meeting for preparation of the lesson another and more important movement developed. In 1827 the New York State Sunday School Union recommended the establishment of a school for the training of Sunday-school teachers. In 1837 Dr. W. E. Channing advocated "An institution for training men to train the young." He referred to the ideals and practices of public educators. Ten years later the Reverend D. P. Kidder, Corresponding Secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Sunday School Union, applied the argument to the needs of religious educators and strongly advocated the formation of "Normal Sunday Schools." He asks, "Why should not Sunday-school teachers have the same advantages as are offered to other teachers in their institutes?"¹

Then arose the prophet of teacher-training, John H. Vincent. He was the man who conceived the normal class and who, by his steady pleading and wise planning, did more than any other in his century to advance Sunday-school standards. He was then, in 1857, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Joliet, Illinois. He organized a class for the training of teachers in his own school and called it a Normal Class. His plan was to give teachers a broad

¹ See *The Lesson System*, by Simeon Gilbert, p. 19.

general preparation, of an elementary character, in the facts of biblical history, geography, literature and teaching, church history and the Sunday-school.

At the meeting of his church conference, in Chicago, October, 1860, Mr. Vincent succeeded
 First in securing the adoption of a resolution
 Institutes calling for institutes for the training of Sunday-school teachers. He urged the church to give them the advantages received by public-school teachers. A program for an institute was prepared and carried out at the meeting of the District Convention, in Galena, Illinois, April, 1861. This, probably the first Sunday-school Institute for the special purpose of training teachers, was followed by others in the neighborhood. In the same year an institute was held in Detroit. Then came local organizations for the maintenance of such institutes. At the convention of the Cook County Sunday School Association, held in Chicago, on November 17, 1864, Mr. Vincent urged the organization of a "Permanent Sunday School Teachers' Institute for the Northwest." One year later the "Northwestern Sunday School Teachers' Institute" held its first meeting in Chicago. Two years later "The Training Class of the Chicago Sunday School Union" was organized. Meanwhile other voices had been heard. In 1864, just one week after

Mr. Vincent urged organization in the Northwest, down in the foothills of the Alleghanies, in Steuben County, New York, two agents of the Sunday School Union held their first regular Institute. These men were Mr. Ralph Wells and Mr. Pardee. For the few remaining years of Mr. Pardee's life he devoted himself to the establishment of a system of normal training for teachers through local institutes.

In Buffalo, New York, Mr. J. E. Gilbert, a public-school principal, established, in 1865, a monthly paper containing training lessons for Sunday-school teachers.¹

This period, immediately following the Civil War in the United States, was the period of awakened interest in the work of the Sunday-school teacher. Ample evidence of this The
Teachers'
Awakening is found in the number of conventions, conferences, and institutes which were held, the articles written on the subject of the teacher's responsibility, and the endeavors of some schools to attain rising standards of work. One of the most interesting efforts in this direction was the establishment of what were called "Biblical Museums." These were collections of original objects, or reproductions of objects of interest in Bible lands or Bible times, illustrating manners,

¹ Mentioned by J. L. Hurlburt in address at convention of the Religious Education Association, Boston, February, 1905.

customs, geography, dress, literature, and kindred subjects. Such collections were often taken from school to school. In Great Britain, traveling exhibits were prepared by the London Sunday School Union and sent out with competent demonstrators or lecturers. They led to a remarkable quickening of interest in biblical study and to a keen realization of the actuality of the lands and peoples and historic reality of the incidents recorded in the Bible.

Those to whom the word Chautauqua is familiar as a generic term for any summer assembly of recreation and amusement, with a smattering of instruction, seldom think that this great movement was born of the Sunday-school. The parent of all Chautauquas, Chautauqua, New York, was simply a place for camp meetings until, in 1874, Dr. John H. Vincent selected it for a Sunday-school Assembly. The purpose of this Assembly was "To hold a prolonged institute or normal class, occupying from ten to fifteen days . . . that interest may be awakened through the Church on the subject of normal training for Sunday-school workers." It was called the Sunday-school Teachers' Assembly. It recognized the teacher-training activity of a number of the denominations and provided so broad a basis for work that it has always been regarded as wholly interdenominational in charac-

Chautau-
qua's Con-
tribution

ter. The work offered comprised lectures and classes in the methods and principles of Sunday-school work, in biblical history, literature, and geography, with demonstrations of class work and special meetings for departmental officers and teachers. The Chautauqua movement soon embraced many other general cultural interests outside of Sunday-school methods and material. But it resulted in the formation of an Assembly Normal Union, and this later led to the appointment of the International Sunday School Normal Committee, to the establishment of definite courses of normal lessons, to the preparation of many books, both those designed for the Chautauqua Circles and others, of high value directly to the Sunday-school teacher and to the stimulation of popular education. For thousands of persons it meant the extension of the period of cultural training beyond the school years and throughout life. The movement ministered to the training of teachers directly through its Institutes and its Normal Courses, and indirectly by stimulating large numbers of teachers to broad general culture.

In 1889 the Illinois Sunday School Association began to organize classes for the training of teachers and to make teacher-training a definite part of its work. Later New York, Nova Scotia, Pennsylvania, and other states and territories took similar

Organized
Teacher-
Training

action. As a result a large number of institutes were held by field workers and others and many classes were organized. But every man worked in his own way and, although there was widespread interest and much enthusiasm, there was no attempt at unity of action nor any effort to secure economy through cooperation. However, when the Sunday-school workers began to take the function of teaching seriously and to provide for better teaching, the churches came quickly to their aid. Pastors organized classes, the denominational press gave attention to the teacher-training movement, and leading men prepared text-books for these classes. A very large service was rendered by the Reverend Jesse L. Hurlburt, who prepared one of the early Normal Courses for the Chautauqua series. His book blazed the way for elementary studies for Sunday-school teachers. Others prepared many little manuals. When such little text-books are seen in the light of later material for teachers, it must not be forgotten that they were prepared for teachers who had had no special biblical training and who were in a large number of instances without any generous educational advantages. Dr. John H. Vincent wrote a more elaborate treatise on *The Modern Sunday School* which was one of the earliest books on Sunday-school methods.

Following the action of the states already mentioned the matter of more comprehensive plans for teacher-training came before the International Convention meeting at Atlanta, Georgia, in 1899. Again the organized Sunday-school movement was indebted to the workers in the primary departments; for the recognition of the importance of teacher-training at this convention was due to the work of Mrs. J. Woodbridge Barnes, chairman of the Central Primary Committee. Mrs. Barnes had prepared comprehensive courses for primary teachers and the primary organizations had established classes in the Primary Unions of various cities. They had set up for primary teachers standards and ideals which demanded their thorough training.

Teacher-training was placed on a basis of permanency and dignity when, in the summer of 1903, a Department of Education was organized in the International Association. Mr. W. C. Pearce was appointed the first Teacher-training Secretary. The steps of progress taken since then have been: (1) the general stimulation of the organization of classes; (2) the standardization of the work and the requirements for elementary diplomas; (3) holding several conferences of experts and leaders at which the needs of teachers have been studied; (4) the

extension of training to the ministry through the theological seminaries; (5) the better understanding of requirements of interdenominational work; and (6) training courses provided in the curricula of certain colleges.

Important action was taken at a conference, held in Philadelphia, January 7, 8, 1908, when the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by representatives of the denominations, Sunday-school secretaries, and other educational leaders:

"It is the sense of this Conference in defining the minimum requirements for the standardized course for teacher-training that such minimum should include:

"Fifty lesson periods, of which at least twenty should be devoted to the study of the Bible, and at least seven each to the study of the pupil, the teacher, and the Sunday school. That two years' time should be devoted to this course, and in no case should a diploma be granted for its completion in less than one year.

"That there should be an advanced course, including not less than one hundred lesson periods, with a minimum of forty lesson periods devoted to the study of the Bible, and of not less than ten each to the study of the pupil, the teacher, the Sunday-school, church history, missions, or kindred themes. That three years' time should

be devoted to this course, and in no case should a diploma be granted for its completion in less than two years." Other resolutions provided for cooperation with the denominational agencies for promoting teacher-training in matters of standards, credits, enrolment of pupils, and issuance of diplomas.

At the convention in Louisville, in 1908, Mr. W. C. Pearce gave figures for the enrolment of **Large Enrolments** a total of one hundred and seven thousand four hundred and seventy-seven students in training classes, with over twelve thousand graduates during the three years preceding. The state of Pennsylvania alone reported over fourteen thousand students enrolled in classes for teacher-training. At this convention Reverend Franklin McElfresh, Ph.D., was appointed teacher-training Secretary and entered on his work in October of that year. In the year following nineteen hundred and seven new classes were enrolled, with thirty-two thousand six hundred and fifty-eight students.

In the two years and a half following the Louisville Convention of 1908, one hundred and twenty-five thousand pupils were enrolled in teacher-training classes officially recognized by the International Sunday School Association, and it is estimated that there were twenty-five thousand in other classes. During the same period the

International Association issued over twenty-five thousand elementary teacher training diplomas.

The committee on education of the International Sunday School Association rendered valuable service also in formally approving the courses of teacher-training published by the denominations and by other persons. A special committee of five passed on all courses and the same committee also approved text-books for the training classes and text-books for the International Reading Circle. The latter was organized to enlist teachers and others in systematic reading of the best books by a plan of a five years' course with one book to each year. In 1910 there were fifteen approved courses of study for the elementary training work, thirteen approved courses of study for the advanced work.

The work of the International Association in the promotion of teacher-training in the first decade of the twentieth century would have been impossible without the cordial cooperation of the Sunday-school departments of the various denominations. The Methodist church gave vigorous support to all the plans and prepared normal courses, organized classes, sent out special workers, and awarded diplomas. The Baptists organized a National Teacher Training Institute, published one of the most complete series of studies, and placed their

work in the charge of Reverend Henry T. Musselman. The Congregationalists likewise undertook seriously to promote the education of their teachers, employing special officers and preparing some material. In the Episcopal church various boards were appointed for the same purpose, notably in the Diocese of Massachusetts, where the Board of Education, under the guidance of the Educational Secretary, Reverend Carlton P. Mills, arranged a comprehensive course of study.

Another contribution was made to the training of teachers in the preparation of libraries and the Reading arrangement of courses of reading for Classes teachers. While the libraries were prepared by denominational or by private enterprise, they formed valuable aids to teachers in training. The books were made available by having them placed conveniently in the church or in the Sunday-school room, or by circulating them amongst the teachers.

About 1870 Edward Eggleston urged that the theological seminaries should be aroused to the importance of the Sunday-school and led to share in the task of preparing both pastors and teachers for its work.

Two years later Henry C. Trumbull delivered his now familiar *Lectures on the Sunday School* before Yale Divinity School. The Lam-

beth Conference, in 1888, said, "The instruction of Sunday-school teachers ought to be regarded as an indispensable part of the pastoral work of the parish priest." In 1905 the Presbyterian General Assembly adopted a minute calling on theological seminaries to establish courses in the principles and methods of the modern Sunday-school. At the Toronto Convention of the International Association in the same year seventeen seminaries were reported as having either definite courses or lectures on this subject. The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, at Louisville, Kentucky, had a professor in charge of Sunday-school work. In affiliation with the Hartford Theological Seminary, in 1903, was established the well known School of Religious Pedagogy.

Other institutions were by this time taking steps toward full courses in Sunday-school science. An ^{Theological} investigation undertaken by the ^{Seminaries} Religious Education Association, in 1907, showed that scarcely any of the one hundred and ninety-six theological schools in the United States were entirely neglecting the Sunday-school, and that four offered courses in child-study; twenty-four in educational psychology (nine requiring the work for a degree); twenty offered religious pedagogy; thirteen offered courses in the history and organization of the Sunday-school; and twenty-two had lecture courses by instructors

from without. Thirteen institutions permitted Sunday-school workers who had not matriculated to enter the classes on Sunday-school subjects.

On February 13, 1908, the Religious Education Association, in its convention at Washington, D. C., passed this resolution:

Overtures
for Pro-
fessional
Training

"In view of the pressing need of leaders who can properly instruct Sunday-school teachers and others in the principles and methods of religious education, we urge the universities to provide in their departments of education for specific training with reference to such leadership."

On February 21st of the same year, at the invitation of Mr. W. N. Hartshorn, a company of seventy-seven representatives of the theological seminaries met at his home in Boston to discuss the present work of the seminaries for the schools and to devise plans for closer cooperation and further usefulness. One of the practical results of this conference was the adoption of the plan of a traveling lectureship for the seminaries in New England. Another conference was held at the same place on April 22, 1910, to discuss "The place of religious pedagogy in the training of the minister for the work of the Sunday-school."

A notable service in the enlistment of the pastor in the work of the school and in preparing

him for that work was the publication of a book by the President of Brown University, William A. Notable Book H. P. Faunce, LL.D., entitled, *The Educational Ideal in the Ministry*.

By the end of the first decade of this century it is safe to say that no seminary of any importance fails to have either definite courses offered in Sunday-school science or, better, in religious education, or to have careful and comprehensive courses of lectures by experts in these subjects.

In Great Britain the work of teacher-training has not received quite the same attention as in the United States. It has been conducted by means of lecture courses principally, and only recently have standards for the teachers been created.

During this time the colleges of the United States were not altogether indifferent to the importance of the Sunday-school. Leading educators urged that, since the business of the college was to train its people for full social living, these institutions should recognize the fact that many students would find themselves after graduation in churches, and that work in the Sunday-schools would be part of their social and religious duty. They began to answer the rather common criticism that the college unfitted young people for active service

in the church. Beginning with the opening term of the fall of 1908, practical work in teacher-training was carried on by many institutions. The University of Chicago established a department of Religious Education, with a full professor in charge, and offered courses in Sunday-school history, methods, pedagogy, the psychology of religion. They correlated the work offered in the department of General Education to the department of Religious Education. Columbia University had many similar independent courses which were later, by its plan of correlation with Union Theological Seminary, organized into a regular department of Religious Education. Both of these offered the usual work in biblical literature which was open to all students. Yale University combined the work in biblical literature with courses on the Sunday-school, its methods, pedagogy, and principles. Here valuable laboratory work was conducted by students in these courses in the city of New Haven. Northwestern University had regular courses on Education in Religion and Morals. Brown University cooperated with the Providence Biblical Institute in offering classes and courses of lectures for Sunday-school teachers in the city. The State University of North Dakota cooperated to the same ends with affiliated denominational schools. The State University of West Virginia conducted a summer

school for Sunday-school teachers. The State Universities of Iowa and of Michigan organized Schools of Religion, so that practical work in religion and religious methods were available to all students. The University of Minnesota has two courses in Religious Education. Otterbein University also has several courses in the Sunday-school and Religious Education. Ripon College had a regular department of Religious Education. Washburn College had a School of the Bible which aimed especially to prepare for teaching the Word, and in 1911 (Fall term) offers a regular course designed to prepare for religious teaching. Many normal colleges and teachers' colleges co-operated with their local church workers in conducting teacher-training classes and in giving courses at Sunday-school institutes and the like.¹ This list is not exhaustive but simply indicative of the awakening and profound interest of the educational world in the teacher's work in the Sunday-school.

An inquiry, early in 1910, extending to twenty-six of the leading colleges in the United States, showed that the presidents of nearly all these institutions clearly and strongly believed that the college should provide training with a view

¹ See particularly the plan of cooperation with credits, worked out by the State Normal School of Colorado and described in *Religious Education* for April, 1911.

to the student's later service in the Sunday-school.¹

Summarizing progress in teacher-training, Dr. McElfresh calls attention early in 1911 to the following evidences of advance. Nearly twice as many students officially enrolled as had any preceding period; the increased emphasis on the preparation of senior scholars by means of training courses; the recognition of the training class as a permanent department of the school, under a superintendent of education; increased use of the special institute for advanced study; marked advance in scholarly quality of the text-books being published; increase in the number of courses of religious pedagogy and psychology in theological seminaries and denominational colleges, and increased number of Schools of Method.

Another encouraging evidence of development was seen in turning the teachers' attention from books on method and management to the study of the great principles of psychology and education. Sunday-school libraries, and the libraries of colleges and universities, found it necessary to supply themselves with the principal text-books on these subjects.

¹ The detailed statement of the results of this inquiry will be found in the paper on *The Sunday-School and College Leadership* presented at the World's Sunday-School Convention, Washington, D. C., May 23, 1910, and published in the proceedings of that convention.

Educational interest so general and so high in character, taken together with the remarkable increase in important books on religious education, indicated the new place into which the Sunday-school and the Sunday-school teacher had come. It was for the work of the teacher really the beginning of the new era of dignity, based on efficiency.

XIII

THE SCHOOL FOR ADULTS

ABOUT the middle of the last century a Quaker in Birmingham, England, sought to do for adult men what Robert Raikes had done for children. He gathered the men who were idly standing at the street corners of that city into special, separate adult Sunday-schools. The schools of that type continued in some parts of England as separate schools and are to be found there to this day.

In the United States the movement for adult classes developed in the Sunday-school. Many Adult schools early had classes especially Classes designated as Bible classes. They ordinarily consisted of a small number of elderly ladies and gentlemen who took more interest in theories as to the interpretation of Daniel and Revelation than in anything else. They have no special relation to the modern class movement. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, however, a few men in different places began to gather large groups of young men for Bible study in the Sunday-school. One of the earliest and most

successful of such classes was the Hubbell class, in the Central Presbyterian Church, of Rochester, New York. For a long while this class had over one hundred members with an average attendance of over one hundred. A yet larger class met in the Immanuel Baptist Church, in Chicago, under the superintendency of Mr. B. F. Jacobs. These and other such classes attracted much attention and pastors sought to introduce their methods to their own schools.

In 1903 the teachers of several large adult classes in Chicago met with the officers of the Special Or-
ganization County Sunday School Association. They planned to organize a men's Bible class union, but later determined to make the adult class-work a regular department of the activities of the county organization, to be known as the adult department, and to include classes for both men and women. At the County Convention held in the same year these plans were carried out. In the same year the organization was carried up to the State Convention and the state department of adult classes was organized. Later the state of Illinois took the initiative in the adoption of a distinctive button or badge for the members of these classes. New York was the next state to adopt the organized adult class. Following this the International Association organized an adult class department at the Toronto

convention in 1905. At the end of the year 1909 there were between eight and nine thousand classes organized with an enrolment of over two hundred and forty thousand members, and early in 1911 there were eighteen thousand two hundred and fifty classes enrolled with the International Sunday School Association.

While this general organization was being developed many kinds of classes in the Sunday-school were being organized to meet the needs of men. In 1890 a class of young men in Syracuse, New York, eighteen in number, formed themselves into an organization known as The Baraca Class. Similar classes were quickly organized in other churches, and the special movement known as The Baraca took its rise. Eight years later organizations under the name of Philathea were provided for young women.

Out of the adult class movement one important development came for the Sunday-school and church, namely, the organization of Brother-hoods Brotherhoods. Wise leaders began to organize the men for service which would extend beyond the teaching periods of the school.

There have been two stages in the development of the Brotherhoods. The older organizations, as the Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip and the Brotherhood of Saint Andrew, were formed about 1880. The Brother-hood Beginnings

hood of Saint Andrew was at first only a federation of the young men in the Protestant Episcopal Church for the two simple purposes of daily united prayer and individual Christian service. Later there were added junior chapters for boys. The organization rapidly spread through Canada, England, and the British Colonies.

The Brotherhood of Andrew and Philip, organized in 1888, included men in all the denominations, permitting each denomination to have its own council and officers. The scope of activities and interests was similar to that of the first Brotherhood. The first denominational organization of the brotherhood type was formed in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1896.

Later, leaders in the denominations saw the wisdom of bringing together the existing groups of men in the different churches into broad national organizations. The Denominational Brotherhood Presbyterian Brotherhood was organized first and soon afterward the Baptist Brotherhood, and then the Congregational Brotherhood. The Presbyterian Brotherhood was organized in 1906. It is under the control of the general assembly of that church. The Baptist Brotherhood, organized in 1908, establishes local chapters in the churches. The Congregational Brotherhood was organized at Detroit, April, 1908.

The activities undertaken by the Brotherhoods were the stimulation of the men of the church for the world-wide work of the Kingdom, coordinating and directing the tremendous powers of Christian manhood to the evangelization of the world through the preaching of the Gospel, the relief of distress, the institution of personal and social justice, and the organization of society for the realization of the Kingdom.

At first these adult organizations devoted their attention to large inspirational gatherings, but they are now directing their energies rather toward social and philanthropic service. One of the great problems for the Brotherhoods, as well as for the Sunday-school, is the correlation of the activities of the Brotherhood to the educational plan of the school. Leaders in the Brotherhood movement, cooperating with leaders in the Sunday-schools, in the years 1909 and 1910 particularly, sought to effect educational coordination between the two. In the report of one of the educational commissions of the Northern Baptist Convention, presented at their Anniversaries, May, 1910, a significant recommendation was adopted. It suggested that the work of the Brotherhoods and the Sunday-schools should be under the care of an educational commission or board in each local church and that all their work should be directly conducted by the "school of

Activities
Church
Educating
Men

the Church." This name was suggested as adequate for the Sunday-school.

A highly interesting literature was created by the rise of the Adult Class and Brotherhood **Special Literature** movements. Nearly all the great denominations proceeded to publish quarterlies and magazines, especially for these classes, and the religious press frequently contained articles on the conduct of the classes and on the nature of educational work for men in the churches. There was soon a demand for special courses of study. The first set of such special lessons was issued in 1906 on The Ethical Teachings of Jesus. Later these were followed by other special courses.

The most important aspect of the Adult Class movement for the development of the Sunday-school **Significance** lies in its recognition as a school that deals with the whole of the religious life. It helped to complete, so far as the persons to be educated are concerned, the circle of the scope of the school. The Sunday-school has thus developed from an institution for children and youth until it has become the religious educational agency of the church for all ages. One other important factor was emphasized. The adult demanded something more than an opportunity for instruction; he sought a chance to serve. Hence expressional activities were soon developed. Men and women were initiated into religious

educational experiences by being given definite tasks in connection with their classes. Such forms of educational endeavor spread downward through the school. If the men's class could do things throughout the week for the school and as part of school life, so also could the boys' and girls' classes.

Another important contribution from the adult classes to the development of the Sunday-school **Practical Studies** has been the enriching of the material of study. These classes afforded splendid opportunities for teaching directly the practical duties of the Christian life. For example, the Hyde Park Presbyterian Church of Chicago, in 1908, offered for its Adult Class a course in *The Social Mission of Christianity*. Many other classes had similar social studies. Writing in *The Standard* of Chicago, in April, 1910, Professor Edward P. St. John urged that the Sunday-school should undertake as a definite part of its work the training of its people for parenthood by specific courses in child study. Such courses had already been given in rare instances.

Contribution to Sunday-School Advance The special organization of Adult Classes and Brotherhoods and their adoption of courses of general, practical study indicate important developments in the conception of the Sunday-school. They mark the recognition of the school (1) as signifi-

cant to the lives of busy, practically minded men; (2) as the educational agency of the church for all her people; (3) as responsible for all matters pertaining to the development of the religious life of the church; (4) as having a sphere of action extending beyond the teaching hour on Sunday, and (5) as committed to the educational plan of developing character through service.

XIV

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL AND BIBLE STUDY

IN the twentieth century it has become so much the custom to criticise the Sunday-school for inefficiency in teaching the Bible that it is easy to lose sight of one significant fact, that no agency has done more to promote the systematic, scientific, and general study of the Bible than the Sunday-school. Modern days are heavy debtors in this respect to this often despised institution. It is well to remember this when it sometimes seems as though these schools were setting themselves in opposition to modern and scientific methods of Bible study.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Bible was used in three ways: (1) for reading
More in the services of worship in the churches,
Students (2) for texts for sermons and pulpit expositions, and (3) for private or family reading. One can hardly say that it was studied at all by any other persons than the preacher. There was no popular literature of biblical exposition,

still less any guides in its historical study. The popular religious literature of the times was confined to a few volumes of sermons, devotional essays, and to some strange and truly fearful works of the pious imagination. Save for the few Sunday-schools, there were no groups of persons engaged in the study of the Bible. Even these schools were in the greater number of instances occupied less with the Bible than with the rudiments of learning. Today we have an immense popular literature of biblical study, probably the largest on any single subject of human interest. We have not only our many thousands of Sunday-schools engaged almost exclusively in Bible study, but also thousands of classes and groups gathered under all sorts of auspices.¹ Clubs, societies, village groups, churches, schools, colleges, and, in addition, hundreds of thousands enrolled as individuals are following like studies. We have also many organizations and institutions, such as The American Institute of Sacred Literature, The Bible Study Union, and the correspondence departments of seminaries and training schools, engaged in promoting the study of the Bible according to modern educational ideals.

Most significant of all, this literature is often of a grade as high as that found in any line of other scholarly inquiry and the institutions

¹ See C. A. Brand in *Aims of Religious Education*, p. 202.

engaged in teaching the Bible are often of the first educational rank. The modern world is

A Higher Grade of Study applying to the study of the Bible the earnestness and thoroughness which mark all modern science and, at the same time, is seeking to make the results of such study available to all persons.

How have these changes come about? Principally through the Sunday-school, for that institution has been the initiating power and the inspiration to this movement for Bible study. It began with the gradual adoption of the Bible as the source of material and the common center of study in the school. Doubtless the adoption of the Bible had its beginning in the use of portions thereof in the reading primer or even in the use of its ideas in the spelling book. This is illustrated in the *New England Primer*, which begins the alphabet:

A. In Adam's fall
We sinned all.

Although Robert Raikes was a religious man and had a truly religious purpose in founding his schools, he did not design them as Bible Schools. But as they used parts of the Bible in teaching ignorant children their lessons in reading, the teachers naturally explained some of the passages, while the pupils developed

interest in the narratives and characters described. In America, where the school was early adopted by the churches, the process of magnifying the Bible was much more simple and rapid. It soon became the one text-book. But even here it is to be noted that for a long time the schools continued to study the Bible in a manner suggested by its use only as a text for reading. The book was studied mechanically, section by section, each separately, and attention was fixed apparently on what it had to say regarding the things they were taught to believe rather than on what the book really is and on what its peculiar message is.

Any kind of study, however, demanded help, elucidation, further text-books. Teachers of the Bible in the Sunday-school created the demand for books which would help them in Bible study. First came the material for the pupil in the form of leaflets and pamphlets. The American Sunday School Union circulated printed lessons as early as 1827. Later these were arranged into a course covering five years. At the same time a number of question books, really modified and simple form of catechisms, were extensively used in the schools. The different denominations soon began to prepare lessons and pupil material for their churches. Perhaps the first were issued by the American

Baptist Publication Society in 1840. Then, as this material developed in character, the teachers discovered their need of assistance and handbooks for their guidance were published. As early as 1829 the Unitarians had prepared manuals for the use of their schools. In 1865 *The Sunday School Teacher*, published in Chicago, offered four separate courses of study and gave teaching hints and other helps to the teacher. The next year the Chicago Sunday School Union offered a course entitled, *Two Years With Jesus*. These were the immediate forerunners of the Uniform Lessons. The Sunday School Union of Great Britain also published a *Teacher's Monthly* with lesson notes long before they ever thought of using separate material for pupils. In the American schools the simple comments and expository hints were intended to be useful for the pupil's preparation, as well as for the teacher. This dual aim necessitated in time separate pupils' books, and so we have the quarterly text-books on the Bible lessons issued in cheap pamphlets four times a year. These were the first popular guides to Bible study. Compared with more recent works they seem poor enough, but they were pioneers, and the pioneer's log hut makes possible the city later.

With such beginnings, though the process of development was slow, it was inevitable that a constantly increasing number of persons should

be stimulated to intelligent, studious interest in the Bible. Popular commentaries and expositions were written to meet their demands. Then followed elementary works on biblical history, archeology, geography, manners, and customs. All were written principally to meet the special needs of Sunday-school teachers for technical information. They stimulated the general, popular appetite for the study of the Bible. It is possible definitely to trace the development of biblical study, parallel to the development of the Sunday-school, in the chronological record of the publication of handbooks on the Bible in England and America. The wave of interest has been rapidly ascending since about 1900 and at this time the study of the Bible by experts is on a par with other sciences, while the material for popular study is at least as rich and varied as in any other realm of knowledge.¹

The Sunday-school developed institutions and organizations for the study of the Bible by its By Teacher-organized efforts in teacher-training. Normal courses were projected by the "department of instruction" of the Sunday

¹ For evidence of this see the Bibliography published (for free circulation) by the Religious Education Association on graded textbooks on the Bible. This pamphlet gives twelve pages of titles of text-books.

School Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1840. They were followed before long by numerous other agencies. This teacher-training work placed all its early emphasis on the study of the Bible. The interest in methods, pedagogy, and psychology arose much later. The textbooks, fortunately, did not expound the particular lessons but offered courses in biblical geography, history, archeology, and kindred subjects. Most of the work was done in classes, but this was not always possible, and so we find systems devised for the study of the Bible by correspondence. Teachers realized their ignorance of sacred literature and refused to be content with the meager preparation afforded by lesson helps, designed only to tide the teacher over the immediate needs of each session. They sought the freedom and power which broad, general knowledge of a subject alone can give. But they were working people often and could not go to theological and biblical schools. To meet their needs these schools and other colleges prepared courses which could be taken by correspondence. Special institutions were also created to meet this need, as The American Institute of Sacred Literature at Chicago. The necessities of the Sunday-school teacher thus brought into existence one more agency for the popularization of the study of the Bible.

The modern Sunday-school has also extended the study of the Bible by institutes, summer assemblies, and lecture courses. At
Institutes Chautauqua and the other older assemblies the distinctive feature, that which drew large numbers year after year, was the work in the Bible. Here great teachers like William R. Harper lectured before immense audiences and made the Bible a new book, a book of life to many.

These various agencies and activities growing out of the life and needs of the modern Sunday-school and operating outside its local organization constitute a great and definite contribution to Bible study. It has given rise to many textbooks, study-courses, lecture-courses, and much current literature on the Bible.

The most significant development in Bible study has taken place within the school itself. To a degree far greater than has yet been
Influence of New View of Bible generally realized the Sunday-school has been influenced by the changing conceptions of the Bible. The Bible has increased in significance and value to men as our views of it have changed. The change in view came about through: (1) the acceptance of the principle of the unity of the universe and the reign of law therein; (2) the increased flood of light in general and historical knowledge which was thrown on the ancient records; (3) closer,

more painstaking and skilled study of the Bible. In the measure that the Sunday-school seriously attempted educational work it felt the influence of scientific thinking; almost unconsciously teachers and pupils both applied their habitual thought methods to the Bible and they discovered a new book. The Sunday-school came into the possession of a living literature, born of the lives of men, containing records of their genuine experiences, crowded with personal values, and therefore invaluable to every life.

This change of view brought about important changes in Sunday-school methods. The training of teachers in biblical knowledge became imperative. So long as all parts of the Bible were regarded as of equal value, of equal moral authority, and all as designed expressly for teaching Sunday-school lessons and preaching sermons, the teacher easily got all necessary lesson preparation in a general weekly meeting. But if the Scriptures can only be understood as written by many kinds of men, in varying ages of the world, and influenced by time, race, and country, the teacher must know the times, the races, and the countries. The historical interpretation makes historical study and geographical study necessary; it leads into the fields of literary history, of the development of moral ideas, and of comparative religion. So teacher-

Effect on
Teacher-
training

training became something vastly more important and interesting than acquiring facility in repeating the names of the books of the Bible, the chronologies, and a few proof-texts. The teacher-training courses which provided for thorough study of biblical history and literature, geography and racial customs and ideas grew out of the new demands made on teachers by the new view of the Bible.

The new view of the Bible modified greatly the curriculum of the Sunday-school. It became **Effect on Curriculum** evident that not all parts of the Bible were of equal value, that some parts were of no value whatever to the life of a little child and, also, that others were of greater value to the child than to any other persons. Two great conceptions came before the vision of Sunday-school workers at the same time. They were: (1) that the Bible was the product of a long historical development, and (2) that religious character is the result of a process of development. Sunday-school leaders sought to adapt the material of a developing religious consciousness in a great literature to the developing religious life of youth. This, in large part, is what the graded curriculum means.

The Sunday-schools that felt most directly the changes in view as to the Bible have passed safely through the crucial period of change. While

admitting the uses of other materials of study for the development of religious character the Bible is still the one text-book. But it is no longer a book studied for itself, as a thing to be learned. It is the book which ministers through life to life. The Bible has, in these changes and through the popular work of the Sunday-school, won a new place in the intellectual life of the people. It takes its place with all other subjects of study. It asserts its own leadership in the religious life. It is no longer regarded as too sacred to be studied with scientific sincerity and earnestness. Neither can anyone afford to neglect it. It is recognized as the richest and finest of all our literature and as the very bread of life to men. It has come to pass that men no longer apologize for reading this book or fear or are ashamed to give their best energies to its careful study.

A New
Bible

XV

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL AND LIBRARIES

It is said that in 1720 there was only one parish library in the commonwealth of Virginia and

Early Libraries that this one had in it three volumes. We can only wish we knew what they

were. Henrico College had had a library but it had probably been scattered by the Indians. Franklin started his subscription libraries in Philadelphia in 1731. There seem to have been only two free libraries established in America in that century, one at Newport and the other at Philadelphia. Both were founded by private gifts and it was not until about the middle of the next century that there were any further steps toward the creation of free libraries. Little did men think, when they heard of the school for destitute children being formed in England by the printer Raikes, that there was a movement which should do more for the popularization of reading amongst all classes and for the institution of public libraries than any other single agency. The free public library owes more to the much

despised Sunday-school library than we have been accustomed to reckon. The Sunday-school library trained the great middle classes to reading books, and when the taste for reading grew beyond the vision of the Sunday-school and its library seemed a lamentable failure, the public library became an imperative necessity.

Raikes gathered his pupils to teach them reading. As they learned, he had to provide reading-books and especially primers, for the Bible which he wished them to read was really too difficult for beginners.

Then, when he had taught them to read, he realized that it would be wise to have other good books in their hands besides the Bible. Two years after his schools were first organized, he printed a little text-book for his classes. Three years later there was published a small book called *The Sunday School Scholar's Companion*. It was a strange collection, from our point of view, of selections from the Bible, the English Prayer Book, the Catechism, and Watt's Hymns. Yet that book, or one very like it, was used in many schools well on toward the end of the nineteenth century; the writer remembers some dry meals thereon.

In 1790 Jonas Hanway prepared and published *A Potpourri for the Sunday School*. It is difficult to picture these little, crude, smuttily printed

books, with rude woodcuts. But they were treasured by those to whom a book was as great a wonder as an aerodrome is to-day. They were taken home that parents might delight in the attainments of their children as they read aloud from the pages.

Early
Sunday-
School
Books

Then one book quickly led to another, until the home found a little shelf for books quite necessary. Fifty years ago, in Great Britain at any rate and largely in the United States, there were few homes of working people where more than one small shelf was necessary. But the books in those earlier days were quite likely to come from the Sunday-school and were almost sure to be thoroughly religious books. When the system of public education was but in its beginning, the Sunday-schools were sending good reading matter into the homes of the people.

There might be a difference of opinion as to the quality of the reading matter. At first the Sunday-school books were such as *Goody-Reading Books Two-Shoes* and *Cock Robin*; then came *Pilgrim's Progress* and later *Robinson Crusoe*, *Martyrdom of John Rogers*, and *Poems for Children*, the latter by Charles Lamb. Just about one hundred years ago, the first traces appear of that dreadful milk-and-water type of Sunday-school book, *Ellen, or The Naughty Girl Reclaimed*. Then followed a flood of books about children too good

to stay with mortals, books which made anemia a sure sign of spiritual grace. But they were, after all, better books than the people had had before.

Stranger still were the kinds of books to be found in Sunday-school libraries in the next few decades. A book published in the middle of the last century lies before the writer; in it one is urged to read Edwards on *The Affections*, Alleine's *Alarm*, Baxter's *Saint's Rest*, Pike's *Persuasiveness to Early Piety*, and for younger ones, Fletcher's *Lectures to Children*, *Pious Children*, *Withered Branch Revived*, Gallaudet's *History of Jonah*, *Scriptural Alphabet of Animals*, Walker's *Faith Explained* and *Repentance Explained*. An excellent example of combining tales of daring and adventure with pious dissertations to youth is found in Campbell's *Juvenile Cabinet*.¹ The lugubrious death-bed pictures and the wood-cuts of scriptural and heavenly scenes give one a striking insight into the general aspects of the teaching imparted to the youth of that day.

To Boston, Massachusetts, belongs the credit for the establishment of the first Sunday-school library. This was in 1812. About this time American publishers first began the manufacture of books especially for such libraries,

¹ Published, London, 1825, and contains an interesting reference to Sunday-schools.

so that by 1830 the American Sunday School Union had its imprint on two hundred Sunday-school library books.

The American Sunday School Union played an important part in the development of this department of the Sunday-school. Its Committee on Publications edited and issued the earliest primers and catechisms, selling them to schools at less than cost. It also circulated, by means of the schools, an immense number of tracts. These small pamphlets, often short sermons, essays on religious subjects, stories, or arguments for articles of the faith, were at one time a valuable part of the material used in the Sunday-school. Packages were sent to schools and visitors carried them regularly to scattered readers. Before the days of the huge newspapers — measured by avoirdupois — and the large cheap magazines these tracts were heartily welcomed and furnished a large part of the reading of a great number of people. Their circulation in the Sunday-school contributed to the general educational advance of the country. The Sunday School Union and the American Tract Society in the United States, and the Religious Tract Society, the Sunday School Union, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in England, continued for many years — the English societies to this day — the publication of

Sunday-School Union Libraries and Tracts

large numbers of books suitable for youth, both fiction and travel, history and biblical study.

Encouraged by the societies and the publishers, libraries spread rapidly, until, by 1880, it was difficult to find a Sunday-school in any village or city in the United States without its library. In England the Sunday-school library never attained to anything approaching the same popularity. Not many years later, however, it was realized that the Sunday-school library, as an agent for the dissemination of general religious literature, had, speaking generally, completed its work. The development and increase of public libraries, instituted and maintained often by public funds, provided a sufficient supply of general literature. At the same time the growing spirit of religious toleration made it possible for these libraries to carry a large amount of religious literature. It is now quite common to find the progressive public library meeting all the needs of Sunday-school teachers. Several issue special bulletins giving lists of books available on special subjects, as, for example, on some course of lessons or on some department or interest in teacher-training or in biblical research. The large resources, ample facilities, and trained service of the public library has rendered the general Sunday-school library no longer a necessity in a

Sunday-School
Libraries
and
Public
Libraries

great number of places. Largely on this account schools are giving up their attempts to compete with the public library. Perhaps the first large school to acknowledge this order of things was the Calvary Baptist Sunday School of New York. In 1903 they discontinued their library on account of the superior facilities of public libraries.

With the abandoning of the old general library, there came a substitute of greater value, the Special teachers' and workers' reference library. Libraries This consisted of books of reference on special subjects, such as child-study, pedagogy, biblical history, literature, and exegesis.

This brief survey of the library in the Sunday-school would be incomplete without mention of Periodicals the development of the periodical literature for the school. *The Friendly Visitor* was the first Sunday-school paper. It was established in London in 1819. It was really a penny tract, published monthly. In later years it was fairly well printed and contained some well-told stories. Four years later the first illustrated Sunday-school paper appeared, *The Teacher's Offering*. In America periodical literature at first took the form of lesson helps. The earliest were printed on cards and these gradually grew into the more ample series of lesson monthlies and quarterlies. One of the most important influences in the development of the Sunday-

school has been the circulation of this literature. Important service was rendered by the discussion of Sunday-school principles and problems in the columns of papers like the *Sunday-school Journal* of the Methodist Episcopal churches and the *Sunday School Times* which was founded in 1868. The latter made history in many ways, especially under the editorship of that prince of Sunday-school leaders and prophets, Henry Clay Trumbull.

XVI

THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

THE Religious Education Association in its inception and organization was simply the expression of the conviction of many at the end of the nineteenth century that the time had come to place the educational work of the church and other religious agencies on a level of efficiency with the forces of general education and also to set above all the aim and ideal of the developing religious character. Many persons felt the need of a new organization to meet the situation. The initial step was taken by a body known as the Council of Seventy which was engaged in directing the American Institute of Sacred Literature organized by William R. Harper, then President of the University of Chicago.

The first steps toward organization were taken at a meeting of the Senate of the Council, August 20, 1902. At a meeting of the same
Organiza-
tion body, held in Chicago on October 13, 1902, a formal call was authorized for a national

convention to meet in Chicago in February or March, 1903, to effect this organization.

This call read as follows:

"We, the undersigned, members and associate members of the Council of Seventy, and others, believing —

"1. That the religious and moral instruction of the young is at present inadequate, and imperfectly correlated with other instruction in history, literature, and the sciences; and

"2. That the Sunday-school, as the primary institution for the religious and moral education of the young, should be conformed to a higher ideal, and made efficient for its work by the gradation of pupils, and by the adaptation of its material and method of instruction to the several stages of the mental, moral, and spiritual growth of the individual; and

"3. That the home, the day school, and all other agencies should be developed to assist in the right education of the young in religion and morals; and

"4. That this improvement in religious and moral instruction can best be promoted by a national organization devoted exclusively to this purpose,

"Unite in calling a convention, under the auspices of the Council of Seventy, to assemble in a city to be designated (Chicago), in the month of

February or March, 1903, for the creation of such a national organization, the convention to consist of (a) members and associate members of the Council of Seventy; (b) invited teachers, ministers, and editors; (c) invited pastors of churches and superintendents of Sunday-schools."

The signatures returned to this call from all parts of the country and from persons in all Public departments of religious education indi- Interest cated spontaneous, earnest, and wide-spread enthusiasm favoring such a plan. The Council of Seventy immediately appointed a number of committees to carry out the plans for a national convention. Prof. George L. Robinson of McCormick Theological Seminary was chairman of the General Committee, with President William R. Harper as chairman of the Program Committee.

The convention was held in Chicago, February 10-12, 1903. Four hundred and seven signers First of the call were present, representing Convention twenty-three states of the Union and the Dominion of Canada, and including forty presidents of universities and colleges, many deans and professors of theological seminaries, and many Sunday-school and other religious workers. The public meetings, held in the great Auditorium theater which seats about six thousand people, attracted wide-spread attention. The

business meetings were held in churches, and the one in which the organization was effected was held at the University Congregational Church, Hyde Park, Chicago. The first president was Reverend Frank Knight Sanders, Ph.D., then Dean of the Yale Divinity School. Nicholas Murray Butler, LL.D., president of Columbia University, was first vice-president, and William R. Harper, LL.D., was chairman of the Executive Board.

At the end of the first year there was held in Philadelphia a convention lasting three days, **Second** at which over one hundred addresses **Convention** were made by men of national reputation, on the general theme, "The Bible in Practical Life." At this convention the organization began to correlate its activities; seventeen specific departments were equipped with officers and launched on missions of investigation and experiment in their special problems and activities.

The fields of these departments are indicated by their titles as follows: The Council (studying **Depart-** the principles of religious education), **ments** Universities and Colleges, Theological Seminaries, Churches and Pastors, Sunday-schools and Teacher Training, Secondary Schools, Elementary Public Schools, Fraternal and Social Service, Home, Religious Art, Young People's Societies, Christian Associations.

Meanwhile the Association had engaged Dr. Ira Landrith as general secretary and he served in that office until about the end of that year. He was succeeded by Clifford W. Barnes, formerly president of Illinois College. After him Henry F. Cope took the office and became the permanent general secretary early in 1906.

In February, 1905, a great inspirational convention was held in Boston. One hundred and thirty eminent thinkers and leaders presented papers on "The Aims of Religious Education." One of the important accomplishments of this convention was the formulation of a careful statement of the purpose of the organization. The opening paragraph of this statement read as follows: "The threefold purpose of the Religious Education Association is: to inspire the educational forces of our country with the religious ideal; to inspire the religious forces of our country with the educational ideal; and to keep before the public mind the ideal of religious education and the sense of its need and value."

Since that time annual meetings have been held in Cleveland (1906); Rochester (1907); Washington (1908); Chicago (1909); Nashville (1910); and Providence (1911). It took some time for the Association to find itself and

to discover the best methods of accomplishing its purposes, but from the year of its effective organization it has been able to render increasingly valuable service to all kinds of religious and educational institutions. Early in its history the question arose as to whether it should seek to carry out its own ideals as, for instance, in the publication of improved lesson material or in conducting courses of instruction in religion or in the Bible. After mature consideration the policy was adopted, which has since been adhered to, of making the organization one for inspiration, cooperation, assistance, advice, and stimulation. The general secretary's report for 1908 said: "It is generally recognized that its [the Association's] primary purpose is not so much to do things as to cause things to be done. It acts as a center, a forum, a clearing house, a bureau of information and promotion in moral and religious education, and therefore it has been able this year to serve helpfully a larger number than ever before, for it seeks only to serve, to inspire, to aid, and never to supplant, destroy, or disrupt. It has been able, therefore, directly to aid many denominations, through their official boards, institutions, and associations as well as individuals."

The work of the Association is conducted in the following manner:

The membership of the Association unites in one comprehensive organization workers of all ecclesiastical, evangelical, educational, cultural, and social organizations who desire fellowship, mutual exchange of thought, information and experience, and cooperation in religious education. It promotes improvement by the following means:

Public Agitation, by (1) General Conventions, for the stimulation and education of public opinion and for technical studies in numerous departmental meetings. (2) Conferences in important cities, at summer assemblies, and at educational institutions, for more direct consideration of problems and local needs. (Over two hundred were held in 1910.) (3) Special addresses by its officers at other gatherings, such as ecclesiastical and educational assemblies.

Group Organizations. (1) Local guilds, conducting classes, lecture courses, investigations, conferences, and exhibits. (2) Departments, the membership being grouped into seventeen departments, organized for investigation and promotion in their special fields.

Publications. (1) Special volumes as follows: *The Improvement of Religious Education* (422 pp.); *The Bible in Practical Life* (640 pp.); *The Aims of Religious Education*

(525 pp.); *The Materials of Religious Education* (380 pp.); *Education and National Character* (318 pp.). (2) A magazine, *Religious Education*, issued bi-monthly (about one hundred pages in each number). (3) Pamphlets on special subjects. Members receive all publications, as issued, free of charge.

Executive Offices at Chicago, with (1) Permanent exhibit of methods and materials of religious education; (2) Library of reference work, text-books, and special material; (3) a Bureau of Promotion and Information, answering inquiries on practical problems, securing publicity, organizing meetings; and (4) a secretarial staff, engaged in the direction and extension of the work of the Association, aiding colleges, churches, Sunday-schools, and institutions or individuals in the solution of their problems or the improvement of their methods of religious education by correspondence and conference, and enlisting the services of many leaders and specialists,

While a large amount of work has been accomplished, particularly through conferences and conventions, through the Bureau of Information, which answers many hundreds of inquiries during the year, and through the publication of the principles and plans worked out by leading educators, the most valuable

results are probably the indirect ones, such, for example, as the phenomenal extension of teacher-training classes; the development of the religious educational work of Christian associations, both in their own institutions and in colleges and universities; the larger educational work undertaken by young people's societies; the increase in number and improvement in quality of courses of study offered for the Sunday-schools; and the wide-spread and growing public interest and appreciation of the importance of religious education, as seen in pulpit and platform utterances, in the daily newspapers, and in religious and secular journals. Not the least valuable of the results is to be found in the many books on the different phases of religious education, books bearing such names as Harper, Coe, Hall, King, Pease, Faunce, and many other members of the Religious Education Association.

Specifically, some of the problems attacked in which the advance is already a matter of general popular knowledge are: the gradation of the Sunday-schools and their curricula, the larger and more adequate training of teachers, the technical training of the minister for his educational work in the church, the teaching of hygiene, social living, and morality in the schools, and the moral conditions of student life in the colleges.

This Association has served also to stimulate public thinking by calling attention to the need of moral and religious training. Few will question the statement that there was danger that educators would become so absorbed with the intellectual and informational ideals in popular education and with the place of the laboratory and the specialist in higher education that they would lose sight altogether of the primacy of character development through these agencies.

In 1910 the membership of the Association numbered over twenty-seven hundred. At the general convention at Nashville one hundred and ten addresses were delivered and over thirty different meetings were held. During the preceding year the Association conducted over two hundred and fifty local conferences and five state conventions besides the general conventions.

This Association has worked in closest harmony with all progressive movements for the improvement of moral and religious training. Its field has been so wide that it has brought to one platform for united work many agencies which had hitherto been quite separate, such as the universities and the Sunday-schools, the public schools and the churches, the press and the home. By securing their united

Forming
Public
Opinion

In 1910

Cooperation
with Other
Agencies

cooperation each has been made to minister in a new and enlarged measure of effectiveness to the other. The literature of the Association shows papers prepared and plans worked out by educational specialists of world fame dealing with the problems of the Sunday-school, and it has brought to the improvement and progress of Sunday-school work the very best that modern educational science could offer.

XVII

PARALLEL LINES OF PROGRESS

THE parochial school in the Roman Catholic church in the United States and the control of education by this church in certain other countries have made the Sunday-school less of a necessity to them than to the Protestant churches. Their church schools can give religious instruction all through the week. Nevertheless the church of Rome has not been slow to recognize the advantage of using Sunday for religious instruction. In many places, the pupils in the Roman Sunday-schools outnumber those in the Protestant schools. The more progressive Catholic churches give careful attention to their Sunday-schools. They regard them essentially as schools for teaching Christian doctrine. The text-books are usually catechisms, doctrinal manuals, and the lives of the saints.

Pope Pius IX called attention to the necessity of Bible study on the part of Catholics, and Pius X, in 1906, issued an encyclical urging the more general and careful teaching of Christian doc-

trine. These orders, accompanied by a recognition of the valuable results of other schools, led to an awakening of interest in the Sunday-school and to the publication of some very helpful little books advocating modern methods in the school. Certain large Catholic schools, such as that of the Paulists on Fifty-ninth Street, New York, Holy Angels and Holy Family, Chicago, and the Sacred Heart in Worcester, Massachusetts, have very large enrolments. Those in Chicago are credited with over three thousand. The pupils are arranged in grades which correspond approximately with the grades in the public schools. In addition to the teaching of church doctrines some schools give particular attention to the teaching of Christian conduct, morals, and temperance.

The Jews trace without difficulty a line of schools for religious instruction, meeting either on their Sabbath or on Sunday, to a period long antedating the beginning of the Christian era. Mention has already been made of the synagogue schools. For many years their form did not change greatly after the work of Simon Ben Shetach. Wherever there were synagogues there were classes, and for all practical purposes these classes may be regarded as constituting religious schools. The tides of persecution and the long-continued political opposition

Revival of
Sunday-
School
Interest

Hebrew
Schools

and oppression did not prevent the Hebrews from worshipping or from reading and studying their sacred literature. In every orthodox family through the long history of Judaism the children were instructed in the traditions of their race. Whenever the evening lamp was lit, whenever there was a feast day or a fast day, even in the act of entering and leaving the home, education in the facts of their faith was given. The mass of traditional literature grew and the zeal for the law grew with it and helped to keep bright the light of religious learning. The orthodox Jewish schools of modern times differ from those of the time of Christ only in the direction of elaboration of curricula and greater formalism in work.

The reformed wing of Judaism early adopted modern methods. In 1868 they organized the Reformed Hebrew Sabbath School Union of Judaism America. Since then special hymn-books and services have been prepared, textbooks have been written, and all the organization of a modern system of Sunday-schools has been accomplished. Under the leadership of rabbis like Philippon, Silverman, Wise, Gries, and Grossman a high degree of educational efficiency has been reached. Their schools were amongst the first to conceive the values of exhibits of objects of interest in Jewish history. They were also amongst the first to organize special committees

on education in their congregations and to demand of their pupils strict adherence to courses of study and to standards of attainment.

In the United States the Sunday-school idea has seen its most striking realization and, doubtless, the best manifestations of its purpose and possibilities. This development is due in large measure to the advantages of freedom in religious belief and to the restrictions imposed on public education by its complete separation from the church. The resultant limitation of the opportunity of the public school has thrown a much larger responsibility on the Sunday-school. In fact, the development of the latter has always been most marked wherever there has been the greatest insistence on the freedom of the public schools from doctrinal or biblical instruction.

In 1907 there were in Protestant Sunday-schools in the United Kingdom about seven and a half million pupils and nearly seven hundred thousand teachers. The work of all was united in that of the Sunday-school Union, with offices in London. The special features of the English Sunday schools at this time were: (1) Newly awakened interest in the training of teachers. The most important work is that done through special institutions, as, for instance, the college and university extension lecture courses

The Sunday-
School
Abroad

Great
Britain

(particularly at Manchester and Liverpool), the training institute for Sunday-school workers at Selby Oak near Birmingham, and the publication of a special series of text-books for the use of teachers. (2) The development of special related organizations, such as Temperance Unions, Church Lads' Brigade, Boy Scouts, and Girls' Friendly Societies. (3) The special development of adult schools for men and women, organized by the Friends. In April, 1907, there were thirteen hundred and seventy eight of these schools, with a total membership of nearly one hundred thousand. The schools usually met early on Sundays, had Bible instruction, were self-governing, and frequently conducted many forms of social work, especially along cooperative lines. (4) The extensive work of the Sunday-school Union in publishing general literature, conducting Rest Homes, and in promoting teacher-training.

While the Sunday-school has developed in Great Britain in a manner parallel in part to that in the United States, there have been a number of striking differences. To a certain extent the need for religious instruction has not been so keenly felt, since, until about 1890, practically all schools gave religious instruction, setting aside certain periods for teaching the Bible and also, usually, for teaching the cate-

Differences
between
Sunday-
Schools in
Great
Britain
and the
United
States

chism of the English Established Church. As late as 1898 the London School Board set up a scheme of Bible study for periods of one half hour of each day.

The church schools in Great Britain have been schools for children almost exclusively. Nevertheless, some of the largest schools in the world are there, as that at Stockport (founded in the lifetime of Raikes), with nearly five thousand members enrolled. For many decades the British schools have held two sessions, morning and afternoon of each Sunday. The morning school convened before church service, and the older pupils, attended by their teachers, would usually be taken to the service in classes. The Sunday-schools of the Episcopal church have usually remained separate from all others, with their own courses of study; in 1902 their schools had over two hundred thousand teachers and half that number of district visitors. In Scotland the teaching in the schools has been much more largely catechetical than in England.

In France no religious instruction is given in the public schools, but in 1882 a law was passed making the teaching of morals compulsory. All public-school pupils for many years had the right to be absent one half day in the week for religious instruction in their churches. Until 1907 there were a large number of schools on

religious foundations which gave formal instruction in the Catholic doctrines. In 1856 Mr. Albert Woodruff, of Brooklyn, founder of the American Foreign Sunday-school Society, visited Paris and persuaded the English-speaking residents to establish Sunday-schools. In 1878 the London Sunday-School Union had eighty-eight schools in that city. In 1893 it was estimated that about sixty thousand children were enrolled in Sunday-schools.

Luther insisted on the need for religious teaching in the schools. In 1533 the Wittenberg Germany school provided, "One day, Wednesday or Saturday, is for religious instruction." Ever since then the schools of Germany have had regular religious instruction in both elementary and secondary schools. The Department of Education spends a large amount of money to support the "Religionsunterricht"; but there is a grave question as to its actual value to the religious life of the German people. Mr. Albert Woodruff in Germany, as in Paris, introduced the American type of Sunday-school in 1856. Since then the number has grown steadily. In 1874 there were over a thousand schools, and in 1902 an enrolment of over eight hundred and fifty thousand students in Sunday-schools.

Norway deserves to stand out by itself, not because there are so many schools, but because

there is a live interest in that country in the improvement of religious education. They have special societies for the development of the Sunday-school and at least one magazine devoted to its advance.

In other parts of Europe the schools have been developed either by the efforts of the London Sunday-School Union, of the American Foreign Sunday-School Society, or by the direct work of missionaries on their fields. On the whole the schools have followed the lines laid down by conditions in the countries which have been promoting them. The same is true of the school in non-Christian lands, though the interest manifest in special conventions and later in institutes has been highly encouraging. Japan has a Sunday-school Association with paid secretaries. In 1910 they had one thousand one hundred and fifty-nine schools with eighty-seven thousand pupils and teachers. Thus the Sunday-school has encircled the world and is one of the mighty modern forces binding all nations together in united study, faith, and service.

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

CHAPTER I

How far back may we trace the spiritual roots of the Sunday-school?

What is the essential spirit which makes this school necessary?

What would you call the distinguishing characteristic in all education which appears at its best in the Sunday-school?

What are the traces of religious educational interests amongst primitive peoples?

Who were the earliest religious teachers?

What memorials have we of religious education in Egypt?

What place did the great ethical code of China have in the Chinese educational system?

Mention some of the great teachers of early Greece.

What were some of the religious elements in Roman education?

What was the most important institution in the early education of the Hebrew youth?

Why were separate religious schools unnecessary amongst the Hebrews?

What is the importance of the Synagogue in later Hebrew educational activity?

In what way was the Synagogue service like a Sunday-school?

What were three kinds of religious schools in existence at the time of Jesus?

What was the curriculum of these schools?

Describe the conditions of study.

In what sense may Christianity be considered as a teaching religion?

CHAPTER II

Mention some characteristic of early Christian meetings.

In what way did early Christianity provide for religious instruction?

Would the early Christians cease to give instruction in Old Testament customs and history?

Mention some of the evidences of Gentile interest in early religious education.

Give some characteristics of the discourses in early Christianity.

What was the relation of the Synagogue school to the new faith?

What was the earliest regular school for Christian teaching?

Tell what you can of general conditions in Alexandria.

Describe the Alexandrian school.

What was the purpose of the catechetical schools?

What were the general grades in these schools?

Did the early Christian schools have any influence on general education?

Was the early theological seminary at Alexandria practically related to the schools for children?

CHAPTER III

Who was the monk called to organize the educational system of Charlemagne?

From what activities in religious education did he come?

What were the special causes leading to the development of the early universities?

In the medieval period were the people wholly ignorant of religion?

What service did the wandering scholars render?

What service did the wandering friars render?

In what way were the monasteries schools of religious education?

Describe the work of the Brethren of the common life.

What was Luther's first contribution to the literature of religious education?

What did he seek to do for public education?

What do we know about Carlo Borromeo and his work?

Describe the bands organized by Zinzendorf.

Describe conditions in the Netherlands at this time.

What did the Jesuit schools attempt?

Tell what we know of the work of Hannah Ball.

In what way were the great English public schools religious?

What contribution did Raikes make to public education in England?

CHAPTER IV

Give the date and place of the birth of Robert Raikes.

What were his circumstances and occupation?

With what class of persons did he first labor?

What did his schools seek to accomplish?

Were they the first religious Sunday-schools?

What are their differences as compared with our Sunday-schools?

In what sense is Raikes the father of the Sunday-school?

What was the great underlying motive of Raikes?

What special contribution did he make to education?

CHAPTER V

What was the purpose of early general education in New England?

What was the public education element of religious instruction?

Were separate Sunday-schools necessary in early New England?

How did special instruction for children on Sundays begin?

Mention some of the earliest instances.

Was the Raikes plan precisely suited to conditions in North America?

Describe the organization of the First Day or Sunday-school Society.

CHAPTER VI

With what organization did the Sunday-school come into closer relations in North America?

What was the attitude of the church to the school in Great Britain?

What did Wesley think of the early Sunday-schools?

Give some of the instances of church oversight of schools in the eighteenth century.

What is the distinctive American idea of the Sunday-school?

In what way have American Sunday-schools developed differently from the English?

What are some of the results of the adoption of the school by the church?

CHAPTER VII

When was the British Sunday-School Union organized?

What are some of its activities?

When was the American Sunday-School Union organized?

What were the component elements?

What were its early activities?

Show the importance of the Mississippi Valley enterprise.

In what way did the denominations relate themselves institutionally to the Sunday-school?

Describe the work of the Methodist church in promoting the Sunday-school.

Describe the work of the Congregational churches.

CHAPTER VIII

What was the earlier form of organization of the International Sunday-School Association?

Mention some of the special activities of the organization.

What were the characteristics of conventions before 1869?

What was the special action of importance taken in the Fifth Convention?

What of importance in the First International Convention?

What new activities developed in the Fifth International Convention?

Mention the principal employed officers of the Association.

What is the work of some of the subsidiary organizations?

What service has the Association rendered?

CHAPTER IX

What were the subjects of study in the early Raikes schools?

When were regular Bible stories and work first introduced?

What was the beginning of connected lessons?

Who were the leaders in lesson improvement after the "Babel" period?

Give the steps of early progress in lesson development.

What was the special reason for uniform lessons?

When was the first lesson committee appointed?

What contribution have the uniform lessons made?

Mention some of the defects of this system.

What were some early departures from the uniform plan?

How were the early departures received?

What was the purpose of supplemental lessons?

Mention other extra lesson schemes.

What were the earliest graded lessons adopted by the International Sunday-School Association?

What was the critical period of lesson development in the American Sunday-school?

Describe the action taken at the Louisville Convention in 1908.

What is the scope of the present series of graded lessons?

Who are some of the persons who led in the adoption of graded lessons?

Mention some of the notable series of graded lessons.

What was the plan of the Bible Study Union?

CHAPTER X

Describe the change in the principal aim of the Sunday-school during the last fifty years.

Show how the developing aim can be traced in the literature of the school.

What effect has the change in aim had upon the form of organization?

What results have followed from the special development of the primary department and from the organization of primary unions?

CHAPTER XI

What is the period of greatest progress in the Sunday-school?

Has the Sunday-school any important relation to world thought?

In what way has scientific thought influenced the Sunday-school?

What relation does the new psychology hold to the modern school?

In what new place do we set the child in the modern school?

What new meanings are we finding in religious education?

What special new needs does the modern school seek to meet?

Mention some of the characteristics of the recent literature created for the modern school.

What service is educational science rendering?

Describe some of the developments in special architecture.

Tell of the work of directors of religious education.

CHAPTER XII

Tell of some of the forerunners of modern teacher-training.

Who was the organizer of the earliest normal classes?

Describe the first institutes for teachers.

What contribution did Chautauqua make to teacher-training?

Tell of the beginnings of organized teacher-training.

What part did the primary union play in the development of teacher-training work?

What is the Department of Education in the International Sunday-School Association?

What were some of the standards adopted in 1908?

How do the denominations cooperate in teacher-training?

What contribution have theological seminaries made in this direction?

How has teacher-training developed in Great Britain?

What contribution have the universities and colleges made?

CHAPTER XIII

Mention some of the earlier great adult classes.

When were special organizations of adult classes formed?

What is the Baraca?

What relation do the Brotherhoods hold to adult classes?

What work do the Brotherhoods attempt?

What special benefits come from adult classes?

What is the significance of this movement in the life of the church?

CHAPTER XIV

What was the condition as to popular Bible study a century ago?

Give some of the results of the activity of the Sunday-school in Bible study.

Show the contribution by way of text-books.

Has the Sunday-school influenced popular literature on the Bible?

What is the relation of teacher-training to general biblical study?

What changing conceptions have come about as to the Bible?

What of the relation of the Sunday-school to Bible study in the present day?

CHAPTER XV

When were the first popular libraries started?

What did Raikes do for popular reading primers?

Describe some of the early Sunday-school books.

When was the first Sunday-school library established?

What service did the Sunday School Union render to libraries?

Describe the system of tracts.

What has the Sunday-school library done for public libraries?

What is the modern system of a library for a Sunday-school?

CHAPTER XVI

When was the Religious Education Association organized?

What were the reasons for this organization?

What are some of the departments of its work?

What relation does it sustain to Sunday-school organizations?

How does it carry on its work?

What are some of its important publications?

What contribution has it made to Sunday-school progress?

CHAPTER XVII

Tell of recent developments in Roman Catholic Sunday-schools.

How do the Hebrews care for the religious instruction of their young today?

What is the present condition of Sunday-schools in Great Britain?

When did work begin in France?

Describe the conditions in Germany.

SOME HELPFUL BOOKS FOR FURTHER STUDY

THE GENESIS OF THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL

I. PRIMITIVE PEOPLE AND EARLY CIVILIZATION

Burnouf, Emile. *The Science of Religions.*

Brinton. *Religions of Primitive Peoples.*

Crozier. *History of Intellectual Development.*

Graves. *A History of Education: Before the Middle Ages.* Part I.

Deniker. *Races of Men.*

Freeman. *The Schools of Hellas.*

II. AMONG THE HEBREWS

Laurie. *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education.*

Article, *Education*, in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.

Kent. *Great Teachers of Judaism and Christianity.*

Trumbull. *Yale Lectures on The Sunday School.*

Graves. *A History of Education: Before the Middle Ages.* Part II.

Article, *Education*, in the Jewish Encyclopedia.

Solomon Ibn Gebirol. *Improvement of the Moral Qualities.* Translated by S. S. Wise.

Lazarus. *Ethics of Judaism.*

III. NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

Article, *Education*, in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible.

Schürer. *History of Jewish People in Time of Jesus Christ.*

Edersheim. *Life and Times of Jesus.*

Mathews. *History of New Testament Times in Palestine.*

Trumbull. *Yale Lectures on The Sunday School.*

EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Hodgson. *Primitive Christian Education.*

Quick. *Educational Reformers.*

Trumbull. *Yale Lectures on the Sunday School.*

Draper. *Intellectual Development of Europe.*

Dill. *Roman Society in Last Century of Empire.*

Book V.

LIGHTS IN THE GLOOM (MEDIEVAL)

Emerton. *Mediæval Europe*, particularly pp. 437 ff.

Painter. *History of Education*, particularly pp. 116 ff.

Compayré. *History of Pedagogy.*

Graves. *A History of Education.* Vol. II. The Mediæval Period.

Guizot. *Course II.* Lectures 14, 15.

Laurie. *Rise and Early Institution of the Universities.*

Magevney. *Christian Education in the Dark Ages.*

D'Aubigny. *History of the Reformation.*

(Students desiring to make a thorough investigation should secure Professor James W. Thompson, *Reference*

Studies in Mediæval History, a very full bibliography on this period — University of Chicago Press, 35 c.)

ROBERT RAIKES

Harris. *Story of Robert Raikes.*

Reed. *Evolution of the Sunday School* (pamphlet).

Merrill, in *Development of the Sunday School*, Official Report of the Eleventh International Sunday School Convention.

EARLY SCHOOLS IN NORTH AMERICA

Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. *Sunday Schools.*

Brown. *Sunday-School Movements in America.*

Development of the Sunday School. International Sunday School Association.

Annual Reports of Methodist Episcopal Sunday-School Union, 1851.

Pamphlets of the American Sunday-School Union.
Michael. *Sunday-Schools of the American Church.*

DEVELOPMENT THROUGH ORGANIZATIONS

Reports of the International Sunday-School Association.

McCullagh. *Sunday-School Man in the South.*

Vincent. *Modern Sunday School.*

Myer. *Graded Sunday School in Principle and Practice.*

THE PERIOD OF INTENSIVE DEVELOPMENT

Proceedings of The Religious Education Association,

234 EVOLUTION OF SUNDAY-SCHOOL

5 Vols., particularly Annual Surveys of Sunday-School Progress.

Coe. *Education in Religion and Morals.*

Vincent. *Modern Sunday School.*

Lawrence. *How to Conduct Sunday School.*

Cope. *Modern Sunday School in Principle and Practice.*

Mead. *Modern Methods in the Sunday School.*

Reports of Conventions of International Sunday School Association.

Religious Education (magazine), Vol. IV, pp. 228, 442; Vol. V., pp. 251 ff., 487 ff.

LESSON SYSTEMS

Gilbert. *The Lesson System.*

Rice. *History of International Lesson System.*
(American Sunday-School Union.)

Proceedings of The Religious Education Association, 5 Vols.; particularly Vol. I, pp. 200 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 221 ff., pp. 243 ff.; Vol. IV, pp. 115 ff.

Religious Education (magazine), Vol. II, pp. 170 f., 235; Vol. III, p. 306; Vol. IV, pp. 431 f., 437; Vol. V, pp. 267, 487.

THE TEACHER

Brown. *Sunday-School Movements in America.*

Haslett. *Pedagogical Bible School*

Meyer. *Graded Sunday-School.*

INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

Much valuable material in *Development of The*

Sunday-School. Report of the Toronto Convention.

See also bibliography above, on The Lesson System.

SCHOOL FOR ADULTS

Wood and Hall. *Adult Bible Classes.*

Cope. *The Efficient Layman.*

Pamphlets of the Illinois State Sunday-School Association.

Pamphlets of the Cook County Sunday-School Association.

Pamphlets of the International Sunday-School Association, Adult Department.

Pamphlets of organized classes in churches.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL AND BIBLE STUDY

Brand in *Aims of Religious Education*, p. 202 ff.

Willett. *Proceedings first Convention, Religious Education Association*, p. 93.

F. T. Lee. *Bible Study Popularized.*

Selleck. *New Application of the Bible.*

PARALLEL LINES OF PROGRESS

Sloan. *The Sunday School Teacher's Guide to Success* (Roman Catholic).

Sloan. *The Sunday School Director's Guide.*

Roberts. *The Church and the Next Generation.*

Sheldon. *An Ethical Sunday School.*

The Jewish Encyclopedia.

CAUSES AND FACTORS IN RECENT DEVELOPMENT

Starbuck. *Psychology of Religion.*

Coe. *Education in Religion and Morals.*

Butler et al. *Principles of Religious Education.*

Publications of The Religious Education Association.

INDEX

A

- Adult lessons, 118
- Adults, school for, 174
- Alcuin of York, 29
- Alexandria, church and schools in, 22
- American idea, 75
- American Sunday School Union, 82
- American Sunday School Union libraries, 197
- Architecture of the Sunday-school, 148
- Assyria, religious education in, 5

B

- Ball, Miss Hannah, 43
- Baptist schools, 89
- Baraca organization, 176
- Beginners' lessons, 117
- Beginning of Sunday-school history, 4
- Bellarmino of Capua, 38
- Bible, new view of, 191
- Bible study and the Sunday-school, 182
- Bible-study institutes, 189
- Bible-study text-books, 185
- Bible Study Union, 126
- Borromeo, Carlo, 38

- British Sunday School Union, 81
- Brotherhoods, 176

C

- Catechetical schools, 23
- Charlestown, S. C., conference, 73
- Chautauqua's contribution, 159
- Child fundamental to the school, 141
- China, religious education in, 5
- Christian, early, church, 14
- Christianity and education, 28
- Christianity, early schools in, 21
- Church adopting the school, 68
- Church as a school, 24, 129
- Church, early meetings for instruction, 18
- Church school, 124
- Common Life, Brethren of the, 34
- Congregational schools, 88
- Constructive Bible Studies*, 125
- Conventions, early, 93
- Curriculum, problem of the, 102

D

- Directors of religious education, 149

E

- Early schools in the United States, 74
 Education, department of, in International Association, 162
 Educational aim of Raikes, 54
 Educational science and the school, 146
 Eggleston, Edward, 95, 103
 Egypt, religious education in, 5
 England, early education in, 30
 English and American schools, 76
 English public schools, 35
 English schools, 215
 English schools, modern, 76
 Episcopal joint diocesan commission, 111
 Erasmus, 35

F

- Field workers' organization, 98
 "First-Day or Sunday School Society," 65
 France, schools in, 217
 Francke, Hermann, 41
 Friends' lesson courses, 113

G

- Gall, Dr. James, 102
 Genesis of the Sunday-school, 3
 Germany, Protestant schools of, 42
 Germany, schools in, 218
 Graded lessons, 120
 Graded schools, early, 23
 Greece, religious education in, 6
 Groot, Gerard, 34

H

- Hebrew schools, modern, 213
 Hebrews, early religious education among, 7
 Home department organization, 97

I

- India, religious education in, 5
 International Sunday School Association, 91

J

- Jacobs, B. F., 95, 103, 104
 Jesuit schools, 40
 Jesus as a teacher, 11
 Jewish Christian homes, 16
 Jewish school described, 10
 Jews, religious education among, 8
 John of Nassau, 39
 Josephus, quoted, 9

K

- Kindermaun, 43

L

- Lesson committee, 106
 Lesson system, story of, 101
 Library, early Sunday-school, 195
 Libraries and the Sunday-school, 193
 Literature of the Sunday-school, 131, 145
 Luther, 36
 Lutheran schools, 88

M

- McElfresh, F. W., report on teacher training, 172
 Medieval period, 29
 Medieval saints, 32
 Men and the Sunday-school, 178
 Methodist Episcopal schools, 87
 Missionary lessons, 116
 Mississippi Valley campaign, 84
 Modern progress, 136
 Monasteries, 33
 Motive of the Sunday-school, 3, 12, 53, 56

N

- New England, beginnings in, 61
 North America, early schools in, 59

O

- Oberlin, John Frederic, 43
 Opposition to the school, 69
 Organizations for promotion, 80

P

- Parish schools, 35
 Periodicals, 199
 Philadelphia "First-Day Society," 65
 Plymouth, Mass., Sunday-school, 62
 Popular education in Judea, 8
 Presbyterian schools, 89
 Primary unions, 133
 Progress in recent times, 212
 Psychology and the Sunday-school, 139
 Public education in England, 45, 55

- Public education in the United States, 64

Q

- Quintilian, 17

R

- Raikes, Robert, 47
 Raikes' schools, characteristics of, 49
 Raikes, service rendered by, 50
 Religious Education Association, history of, 201
 Religious Education Association, work of, 207
 Religious education in Christianity, 15
 Religious education in medieval periods, 29
 Religious education in North America, 59
 Religious education, modern meanings in, 143
 Religious education, primitive, 4
 Religious motive of the school, 4
 Roman Catholic schools, 212
 Rome, religious education in, 7
 Roxbury, Mass., Sunday-school, 62

S

- Scientific thought and the school, 138
 Significance of the Sunday-school, 3
 "Society for Promoting Sunday Schools," 48
 Supplemental lessons, 114
 Synagogue schools, 20

T

- Teacher, evolution of the, 154
- Teacher training, 156, 161
- Teacher training in colleges, 169
- Teacher training institute, 157
- Teacher training standards, 163, 165
- Temperance lessons, 115
- Theological seminary and early Sunday-school, 26, 166
- Trumbull, H. C., 95, 106

U

- Uniform lessons adopted, 96
- Uniform lessons, difficulties of, 108
- Uniform lessons, service of, 107
- Unitarian lessons, 111

- Unitarian schools, 88
- Universities, rise of the, 31

V

- Vincent, John H., 95, 103, 104

W

- Wandering friars, 38
- Wandering scholars, 32
- Wesley, John, quoted, 48, 71

X

- Xavier, Francis, 37

Z

- Zinzendorf, 39
- Zwingli, 39

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY



138 437

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

The King came in just as the tea was pouring out. He made a long stay, and then, coming up to the tea-table, said, "How far are you got?"

I knew he meant to know if he might carry off Major Price; but while I hesitated, the Major, with his usual plainness, said, "Sir, we had not begun."

His Majesty then went away, without giving any commands to be followed; and Major Price had the thanks and compliments of all the company for his successful hardiness.

When Major Price was sent for to the King, to play at backgammon, he asked me if he might bring Lord Templetown to drink tea with me on our next meeting. I was very happy in the proposal, and in thinking I could name Norbury, and tell my dear Fredy I had seen her friend's son."¹

Tuesday, March 6.—I spent almost all this morning with Her Majesty, hearing her botanical lesson, and afterwards looking over some prints of Herculaneum, till the Princess Augusta brought a paper, and a message from Mr. Turbulent, with his humble request to explain it himself to Her Majesty. It was something he had been ordered to translate.

"Oh yes!" cried the Queen readily, "let him come; I am always glad to see him."

He came immediately; and most glad was I when dismissed to make way for him: for he practises a thousand mischievous tricks, to confuse me, in the Royal presence; most particularly by certain signs which he knows I comprehend, made by his eyebrows; for he is continually assuring me he always discovers my thoughts and opinions by the motion of mine, which it is his most favourite gambol to pretend constantly to examine, as well as his first theme of gallantry to compliment,

¹ See vol. ii. p. 394.

though in a style too high-flown and rhodomontading to be really embarrassing, or seriously offensive. Nevertheless, in the Royal presence, my terror lest he should be observed, and any questions should be asked of the meaning of his signs and tokens, makes it seriously disagreeable to me to continue there a moment when he is in the room.

He and Miss Planta both dined with me; and they entered into a very long dispute upon female education, which he declared was upon the worst of plans, teaching young girls nothing but disguise, double-dealing, and falsehood; and which she maintained was upon no other plan than decorum and propriety dictated. In all essential points she was undoubtedly right; but in all the detail he conquered—crushed her, rather, as forcibly by his arguments, as he disconcerted her by his wit. It was no disgrace to Miss Planta that she was no match for him, though she answered him with a degree of vexation, when overset, that made her lose the advantages she might have kept. Both of them called frequently upon me, but I declined the discussion: I should have been happy to have assisted Miss Planta, who, in the main, was right, but that she defended all, everything, on her own side, whether right or wrong, and sought to oppose the domineering powers of her adversary by allowing no quarter to anything he advanced. Candour in argument is the most rare of all things, and Truth is for ever sacrificed to the love of victory and the fear of disgrace.

At length, she went for her work: he then attacked me most vehemently, insisting on my opinion. But I never professedly argue: I may be drawn in by circumstances, or from the interest and feeling of the moment, or from an earnest desire to bring forward conviction, in some point of serious consequence to the principles or conduct

either of another or my own; but deliberately and designedly I never enter into that mode of conversation, which, except arising from the sudden animation of the moment, I have always thought and found either wearisome or irritating.

He tried whatever was possible to urge me to the battle. "Come," he cried, "speak out your real sentiments now we are alone."

"Assure yourself," quoth I, "you will never have any other, whether alone or before millions!"

"Oh yes, I beg your pardon; ladies are never so sincere, with one another, as with us:—tell me, therefore, now, the truth of your opinions upon this matter."

Even this would not do. I told him I was in no disputative humour.

"You are unwilling to own it," cried he, "but I see you are precisely of my way of thinking! You would not say so before poor Peggy, who is but a bad logician, but I saw which way you turned."

This also failed. I assured him I was seized with a silent fit, and he might spare himself further trouble.

He would not allow this plea, and grew quite violent in his remonstrances, protesting I ought not to be silent, and he would not suffer it.

I worked on very quietly, only informing him that to be silent was a privilege I had everywhere claimed, and that though he had heard me talk probably as much as my neighbours, it was merely because I generally appeared before him as Lady of the Ceremonies, either at table or in the carriage, where I thought it incumbent on me to help forward all I could; but that, otherwise, and where I considered myself at liberty to do as I pleased, I had a general character, among strangers and short acquaintance, of the most impenetrable taciturnity.

He vowed he could not believe it. "It would

be a shame," he cried, "and not only a shame, but an impossibility; you cannot be taciturn!—I defy you! Your eyebrow!"

And then broke forth one of his most flighty rants of compliments, with expressions really beyond *badinage*. He made me a little grave, and I told him, that however he might amuse himself with conning fine speeches to me, I should desire and hope he would at least confine them to my own ears, and say nothing of me in any way in my absence.

He was a little affronted, and asked why? but he had given me a feeling I could not quite explain, even to myself, and which, however, he almost immediately dissipated by a more moderate mode of proceeding.

"I should be glad," said he, "you should yourself have heard how I have mentioned you."

"I should be far more glad," cried I, "to hear you never mentioned me at all."

"And why, ma'am? why that distrust or disdain?"

"Because—shall I tell you the truth?—I do not believe you would speak of me so well as *I* think anybody else would! This may be vain about *others*, perhaps!"

This occasioned a vehement outcry, and professions of superior devotion to all the world; but they afforded me the very opportunity I was waiting for, and, with some circumlocution, I frankly acknowledged I should be sorry to be spoken of by one whose manner had taught me to fear he thought, in fact, less well of me than I had ever had reason to believe any one else had done.

I was almost concerned this escaped me, it produced such asseverations; but I was glad afterwards, when I found, in its effect, it distanced that manner for the rest of the conference.

Some time after, "I want," cried he, a little thoughtfully, "to hear more of you from your older acquaintances; I want to meet somebody who has known you long, and to converse with them about you: those I meet tell me nothing but what I already know, and what everybody knows, that Miss Burney is very," etc. etc. etc.; "but I want to see some of her Intimates, and to hear them speak to particulars. I had heard much of her before I saw her, and I wished much to see her, and Her Majesty was so gracious as to order me to dine here one day, last summer, on purpose to give me that satisfaction; and now——"

His speeches were all stopped short by the return of Miss Planta.

I find no further memorandums of my winter Windsor expeditions of this year. I will briefly record some circumstances which I want no memorandums to recollect, and then tie my accounts concisely together till I find my minutes resumed.

Mr. Turbulent became now every journey more and more violent in his behaviour. He no longer sued for leave to bring in his Colonel, who constantly sent in his own name to ask it, and invariably preserved that delicacy, good-breeding, and earnestness to oblige, which could not but secure the welcome he requested.

I saw no more of Major Price, which I sincerely regretted. He returned to his farm in Herefordshire.

We were travelling to Windsor—Mr. Turbulent, Miss Planta, and myself, the former in the highest spirits, and extremely entertaining, relating various anecdotes of his former life, and gallantly protesting he was content to close the scene by devoting himself to the service of the ladies then present.

All this for a while did mighty well, and I was

foremost to enter into the spirit of his rhodomontading: but I drew a little back when he said we did not live half enough together during these journeys, and desired he might come to breakfast with me. "Why should we not," he cried, "all live together? I hate to breakfast alone. What time do you rise?"

"At six o'clock," cried I.

"Well, I shall wait upon you then—call you, no doubt, for you can never be really up then. Shall I call you? Will you give me leave?"

"No, neither leave, nor the trouble."

"Why not? I used to go to Miss Planta's room before she rose, and wander about as quiet as a lamb."

Miss Planta was quite scandalised, and exclaimed and denied with great earnestness. He did not mind her, but went on—

"I shall certainly be punctual to six o'clock. If I should rap at your door to-morrow morning early, should you be very angry?—*can* you be very angry?"

An unfortunate idea this, both for him and for me, and somewhat resembling poor Mrs. Vesey's, which she expressed once in the opening of a letter to me in these words—" *You look as if you could forgive a liberty!*" I fear Mr. Turbulent thought so, too.

His vehemence upon the eternal subject of his Colonel lasted during the whole journey, and when we arrived at Windsor he followed me to my room, uttering such high-flown compliments, mixed with such bitter reproaches, that sometimes I was almost tempted to be quite serious with him, especially as that manner which had already so little pleased me returned, and with double force, so as to rise at times to a pitch of gallantry in his professions of devotion and complaints of ill-usage that would

have called for some very effectual exertion to subdue and crush, had I not considered all the circumstances of his situation, and the impossibility of his meaning to give me cause for gravity.

All his murmurs at the weariness of these winter journeys, and all his misanthropical humours, were now vanished. He protested he longed for the return of the Windsor days; and when he got into my room upon our arrival, he detained me in a sort of conversation hard to describe, of good-humoured raillery and sport, mixed with flighty praise and protestations, till I was regularly obliged to force him away, by assurances that he would disgrace me, by making me inevitably too late to be dressed for the Queen. Nevertheless, till this evening, to which I am now coming, I was altogether much amused with him, and though sometimes for a moment startled, it was only for a moment, and I felt afterwards constantly ashamed I had been startled at all.

I must now, rather reluctantly I own, come to recite a quarrel, a very serious quarrel, in which I have been involved with my most extraordinary fellow-traveller. One evening at Windsor Miss Planta left the room while I was winding some silk. I was content to stay and finish the skein, though my remaining companion was in a humour too flighty to induce me to continue with him a moment longer. Indeed I had avoided pretty successfully all *tête-à-têtes* with him since the time when his eccentric genius led to such eccentric conduct in our long conference in the last month.

This time, however, when I had done my work, he protested I should stay and chat with him. I pleaded business—letters—hurry—all in vain: he would listen to nothing, and when I offered to move was so tumultuous in his opposition, that I was obliged to reseat myself to appease him.

A flow of compliments followed, every one of which I liked less and less; but his spirits seemed uncontrollable, and, I suppose, ran away with all that ought to check them. I laughed and rallied as long as I possibly could, and tried to keep him in order, by not seeming to suppose he wanted aid for that purpose: yet still, every time I tried to rise, he stopped me, and uttered at last such expressions of homage—so like what Shakespeare says of the school-boy,¹ who makes “a sonnet on his mistress’ *eyebrow*,” which is always his favourite theme—that I told him his real compliment was all to my *temper*, in imagining it could brook such mockery.

This brought him once more on his knees, with such a volley of asseverations of his sincerity, uttered with such fervour and violence, that I really felt uneasy, and used every possible means to get away from him, rallying him however all the time, and disguising the consciousness I felt of my inability to quit him. More and more vehement, however, he grew, till I could be no longer passive, but forcibly rising, protested I would not stay another minute. But you may easily imagine my astonishment and provocation, when, hastily rising himself, he violently seized hold of me, and compelled me to return to my chair, with a force and a freedom that gave me as much surprise as offence.

All now became serious. Raillery, good-humour, and even pretended ease and unconcern, were at an end. The positive displeasure I felt I made positively known; and the voice, manner, and looks with which I insisted upon an immediate release were so changed from what he had ever heard or observed in me before, that I saw him

¹ This is an obvious slip for “the lover” (*As You Like It*, Act II. Sc. vii.).

quite thunderstruck with the alteration; and, all his own violence subsiding, he begged my pardon with the mildest humility.

He had made me too angry to grant it, and I only desired him to let me instantly go to my own room. He ceased all personal opposition, but going to the door, planted himself before it, and said, "Not in wrath! I cannot let you go away in wrath!"

"You *must*, sir," cried I, "for I *am* in wrath!"

He began a thousand apologies, and as many promises of the most submissive behaviour in future; but I stopped them all, with a peremptory declaration that every minute he detained me made me but the more seriously angry.

His vehemence now was all changed into strong alarm, and he opened the door, profoundly bowing, but not speaking, as I passed him.

I am sure I need not dwell upon the uncomfortable sensations I felt, in a check so rude and violent to the gaiety and entertainment of an acquaintance which had promised me my best amusement during our winter campaigns. I was now to begin upon quite a new system, and instead of encouraging, as hitherto I had done, everything that could lead to vivacity and spirit, I was fain to determine upon the most distant and even forbidding demeanour with the only life of our parties, that he might not again forget himself.

This disagreeable conduct I put into immediate practice. I stayed in my own room till I heard every one assembled in the next: I was then obliged to prepare for joining them, but before I opened the door a gentle rap at it made me call out "Who's there?" and Mr. Turbulent looked in.

I hastily said I was coming instantly, but he advanced softly into the room, entreating forgiveness at every step. I made no other answer than desir-

ing he would go, and saying I should follow. He went back to the door, and, dropping on one knee, said, "Miss Burney! surely you cannot be seriously angry?—'tis so impossible you should think I meant to offend you!"

I said nothing, and did not look near him, but opened the door, from which he retreated to make way for me, rising a little mortified, and exclaiming, "Can you then have such real ill-nature? How little I suspected it in you!"

"'Tis you," cried I, as I passed on, "that are ill-natured!"

I meant for forcing me into anger; but I left him to make the meaning out, and walked into the next room.

He did not immediately follow, and he then appeared so much disconcerted that I saw Miss Planta incessantly eyeing him, to find out what was the matter. I assumed an unconcern I did not feel, for I was really both provoked and sorry, foreseeing what a breach this folly must make in the comfort of my Windsor expeditions.

He sat down a little aloof, and entered into no conversation all the evening; but just as tea was over, the hunt of the next day being mentioned, he suddenly asked Miss Planta to request leave for him of the Queen to ride out with the party.

"I shall not see the Queen," cried she; "you had much better ask Miss Burney."

This was very awkward. I was in no humour to act for him at this time, nor could he muster courage to desire it; but upon Miss Planta's looking at each of us with some surprise, and repeating her amendment to his proposal, he faintly said, "Would Miss Burney be so good as to take that trouble?"

I felt he was forced to ask this to avoid exciting fresh wonder, and the same reason forced me

to answer, though most unwillingly, that I would mention it to Her Majesty, if I found an opportunity.

I rose to retire to my room at the same moment with Miss Planta, and he let us both pass without molestation. He will not, however, again ask if I *can* be angry, but I was truly vexed he should have put me to such a test.

An opportunity offering favourably, I spoke at night to the Queen, and she gave leave for his attending the chase. I intended to send this permission to Miss Planta, but I had scarce returned to my own room from Her Majesty, before a rap at my door was followed by his appearance. He stood quite aloof, looking grave and contrite. I immediately called out, "I have spoken, sir, to the Queen, and you have her leave to go."

He bowed very profoundly, and thanked me, and was retreating, but came back again, and advancing, assumed an air of less humility, and exclaimed, "*Allons, donc, Mlle. ; j'espère que vous n'êtes plus si méchante qu'hier au soir ?*"

I said nothing ; he came nearer, and, bowing upon his own hand, held it out for mine, with a look of most respectful supplication. I had no intention of cutting the matter so short, yet from shame to sustain resentment, I was compelled to hold out a finger : he took it with a look of great gratitude, and very reverently touching the tip of my glove with his lip, instantly let it go, and very solemnly said, "*Soyez sûr que je n'ai jamais eu la moindre idée de vous offenser*"; and then he thanked me again for his licence, and went his way.

I was not sorry to have our war end here apparently, though I was obliged to resolve upon a defensive conduct in future, that would prevent any other attack.

And now for a few general anecdotes that belong to this month.

I had the pleasure of two or three visits from Mr. Bryant, whose loyal regard for the King and Queen makes him eagerly accept every invitation, from the hope of seeing them in my room; and one of the days they both came in to speak to him, and were accompanied by the two eldest Princesses, who stood chatting with me by the door the whole time, and saying comical things upon royal personages in tragedies, particularly Princess Augusta, who has a great deal of sport in her disposition. She very gravely asserted she thought *some of those Princes* on the stage looked really quite as well as some she knew off it.

Once about this time I went to a play myself, which surely I may live long enough and never forget. It was *Seduction*,¹ a very clever piece, but containing a dreadful picture of vice and dissipation in high life, written by Mr. Miles Andrews, with an epilogue—Oh, such an epilogue! I was listening to it with uncommon attention, from a compliment paid in it to Mrs. Montagu, among other female writers; but imagine what became of my attention when I suddenly was struck with these lines, or something like them:—

Let sweet Cecilia gain your just applause,
Whose every passion yields to Reason's laws.

To hear, wholly unprepared and unsuspecting, such lines in a Theatre—seated in a Royal Box—and with the whole Royal Family and their suite immediately opposite me—was it not a singular circumstance? To describe my embarrassment would be impossible. My whole head was leaning

¹ *Seduction* was by Thomas Holcroft. Miss Burney obviously quoted from memory, as the couplet in the epilogue to the printed play runs as follows:—

And oft let soft Cecilia win your praise;
While Reason guides the clue, in Fancy's maze.

forward, with my opera-glass in my hand, examining Miss Farren,¹ who spoke the epilogue. Instantly I shrunk back, so astonished and so ashamed of my public situation, that I was almost ready to take to my heels and run, for it seemed as if I were there purposely in that conspicuous place—

To list attentive to my own applause.²

The King immediately raised his opera-glass to look at me, laughing heartily—the Queen's presently took the same direction—all the Princesses looked up, and all the attendants, and all the maids of honour!

I protest I was never more at a loss what to do with myself: nobody was in the front row with me but Miss Goldsworthy, who instantly seeing how I was disconcerted, prudently and good-naturedly forbore taking any notice of me. I sat as far back as I could, and kept my fan against the exposed profile for the rest of the night, never once leaning forward, nor using my glass.

None of the Royal Family spoke to me upon this matter till a few days after; but I heard from Mrs. Delany they had all declared themselves sorry for the confusion it had caused me. And some time after the Queen could not forbear saying, "I hope, Miss Burney, you minded the epilogue the other night?"

And the King, very comically, said, "I took a peep at you!—I could not help that. I wanted to see how you looked when your father first discovered your writing—and now I think I know!"

The Princesses all said something, and the kind Princess Elizabeth, in particular, declared she had

¹ Elizabeth Farren, 1759-1829, afterwards (1797) the second wife of Edward Stanley, twelfth Earl of Derby.

² Pope's *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, 1735, l. 210. Pope says "sit attentive."

pitied me with all her heart, for being so situated when such a compliment was made.

My Fredy will have told our visit to Mrs. Cholmley, where I met sundry old acquaintances, amongst whom were Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mrs. Montagu, the Bishop of Chester, and Mrs. Porteus.

But what was most interesting, and, alas! most melancholy to me in this month, was news of the return of Mrs. Piozzi to England!¹ I heard it first from Mr. Stanhope, but my dear Fredy will have told all that also, since she spent with me the same evening.

The waiting of Colonel Welbred finished with this month, and it finished with leaving me very sorry it was over, especially as I had an entirely new acquaintance to form with his successor.

His elder brother² made him a visit during one of our last journeys for three days, and the Colonel sent to request leave to bring him to my tea-table, before he made his appearance. I need say nothing of him, as you all know him; but I had a good deal of *vertù* talk with him, and an opportunity of feeling very thankful to the consideration of the Colonel, who, when called away himself after tea to attend the King, whispered his brother that he must not stay longer in that room than nine o'clock.

The elder, without asking a question, observed the injunction, and the moment the clock struck nine started up and led the way to the rest of the party in retiring.

And here closes March.

¹ Mr. and Mrs. Piozzi returned to London in March 1787; and took a house in Hanover Square. The lady was preparing Johnson's *Letters* for the press. She does not seem to have met Miss Burney until March 18, 1790, when she saw her at Mrs. Locke's.

² Presumably the Hon. Charles Francis Greville (see *ante*, p. 214).

PART XXVIII

1787

Illness of the diarist—Visits—Recovery—Leave-taking—Consistencies of the inconsistent—A surprise—Windsor Terrace—Gratitude—The Queen and Mrs. Locke—Lady Bute and Lady Louisa Stuart—Mrs. Delany and the Princess Augusta—A review—Partiality of the King and Queen to Mrs. Delany—A philosopher turned fly-catcher—Pet frogs—Bruce's *Travels*—Dr. Douglas—General Cary—Congratulations—A classical spot—An enthusiastic traveller—A presentation copy—Liberties of the newspapers—The King's birthday at St. James's—Toilet etiquette—Attendance on the Queen—Routine of the day in the Queen's apartments—Overpowering effects of music at a public ceremony—Grand toilette—The Queen's diamonds—Visit to Mrs. Vesey—Horace Walpole—A cure for spleen—Lady Herries—Lady Juliana Penn—Lady Clanbrassil—Colonel Ramsden—M. del Campo—Colonel Hotham—Equerries' small-talk—Ascot races—Jacob Bryant—Windsor Terrace—A high-flown compliment—The miseries of an equerry—Volcanoes in the moon—Conversation on costume—The Duke and Duchess de Polignac—Windsor Terrace—The Prince of Wales—His reconciliation with the King—Time the only rewarder of genius—Singing extraordinary—A counter-tenor—A singing lesson—Sir Richard Jebb—Lord Mulgrave—The toils of the toilette—Much ado about nothing—A tale of a leather trunk—Mystification—Alarming illness of Mrs. Delany—Mrs. Schwellenberg's tame frogs—M. de la Blancherie—The three M.'s—Mrs. Piozzi—A German family—Dr. Beattie—His person, manners, and conversation—His family misfortunes—Anecdote of Dr. Johnson—Dr. Beattie's *Minstrel*—Another book of it written, but destroyed—Jacob Bryant and his dogs—His house and library—Persecution—Good resolutions—A day at Eton—Canning and the *Microcosm*.

April.—Colonel Manners¹ now came into waiting, and the very first day, as if generously to mark the superior elegance of his predecessor—he came into my tea-room with General Budé, who was at Windsor by invitation—without any previous message or ceremony of any sort whatever. The King himself was already there, and Mr. Smelt, with whom His Majesty was conversing; but as soon as he retired, General Budé named us to each other, and from that time Colonel Manners came every evening, without the smallest trouble of arrangement, either for himself or for me.

Fortunately Miss Planta or Miss Emily Clayton at this time were constantly of my party, which took off from the awkwardness of these visits.

Colonel Manners is a tall and extremely handsome young man, well enough versed in what is immediately going forward in the world; and though not very deep in his knowledge, nor profound in his observations, he is very good-humoured, and I am told well-principled. I saw, however, but little of him at this time, as my illness so soon took place, and I shall mention nothing more of this month except to have the pleasure of saying that my very strange fellow-traveller gave me no further uneasiness after the scene I have mentioned. I continued grave and distant, in defiance of the piqued air with which he received my change, till I saw all his own flights subside into quiet and common behaviour. I then by degrees suffered my stiffness to wear away, and before the time of my illness he had reconciled me to him pretty entirely, by a general propriety of conduct. This caused me very great satisfaction. Yet from the moment of my provocation to that of my fever I could never bring myself to venture to be one moment alone with him. He remonstrated on my constantly

¹ Colonel Robert Manners.

running away when he only remained ; but though he remonstrated, now, with gentleness, I could not change my plan. I saw all was then right, and I thought it most wise to run no risks.

I need say nothing to my dear friends of my illness¹—they and my dear Esther nursed me out of it, and I shall skip useless recollections upon unpleasant subjects ; though never will my memory's best tablet skip the records of their kindness and goodness.

May.—A fresh beginning now of journal to the kindest of sisters, and of friends, from the date of my parting with them as nurses and companions.

When I could see no more of my Susan's hat, and lost all sight of my Fredy's carriage, I drew in my head, and shut down my window, and walked slowly up and down the room, to keep myself from stagnation ; and then I determined to set about—all I was equal to undertaking—an inspection of some of my drawers.

I had but just unlocked one of them when a smart rap at my door startled me. Goter² was upstairs with her mother and sister—I was unwilling, and indeed unfit, to see anybody. I made no answer—a second rapping followed ; I was forced to call out, "Who's there ?" "May I pay my compliments for a moment to Miss Burney ?" was the answer, in the voice of Mr. Turbulent.

Of all the whole household he was just the last person I then wished to see. Those who have never been ill themselves know nothing of the gentleness which an invalid requires. Afraid, therefore, of his visit, I earnestly called out, "No, not now ; I am not visible ; I can see no company !"

He entered, notwithstanding, crying, "Why ?"

¹ See APPENDIX, "Miss Burney's Illness."

² Miss Burney's maid.

in answer to all I could say to stop him, though I was so little disposed for his society that I fairly turned away from him, when I could not prevail, with almost serious peevishness.

He must at least, he said, ask me after Mrs. Phillips, with whom he had been extremely struck, whom he much wished to know more, and thought a very uncommonly charming woman.

I was softened a little in my spleen by this, for I saw he spoke it with all his heart. "She was gone!" I answered,—“I had lost both my nurses but that moment.”

“Indeed?” said he; “I had had hopes of seeing—under your protection—Mrs. Locke; I long to know that lady—what pity to part you from them!”

I had now a good mind to shake hands with him. His soothing fit, however, was soon over, for he presently added,—“But since that *must* have been—why this was as good a way to begin as any other.” He then insisted upon it that I must dine with them again. “We have Miss Goldsworthy,” said he, “Miss Planta, and Mlle. Montmoulin,” and ran on with most vehement protestations that I not only could come, but ought to come, to join the party.

I assured him I was quite unequal to so much company; and I told him if he would but go then, I would see him again in the evening. This bribery, as he called it, made him consent to depart, and he got up immediately.

I have told you so much, in brief, of the singularities of this gentleman, that I enter afresh into detail, in order to prove to you the consistency of the inconsistencies of my accounts of him. And take now a most characteristic trait.

You will naturally suppose he did not spare for length of visit in the evening, when privileged to

come by my own invitation:—he never came at all! You will conclude he was kept away by business or necessity:—no; for in that case, when we met next he would not have spared for complaints. The simple fact is, he forgot before night all he had been so eager for at noon!

After dinner, while I was standing (for practice!) at the window, to see the Royal Family go to the Terrace, I heard my door open, and, concluding only Goter would enter without rapping, I also heard it shut without turning to look round: but, when at last another step than Goter's caught my ear, and my eye followed it, judge my surprise to see the Queen! Taking the Princess Royal for her, I had no doubt of her being of the Terrace party; but she told me she had a little hurt her foot, and would not walk.

Nothing could be sweeter than this unexpected second visit in the same day. I eagerly seized the opportunity of expressing thanks in my Fredy's and my Susan's names, as well as my own, and then in my dear Esther's also, for the marks of favour so recently received; and I endeavoured to tell her, in stronger words than I had yet attempted, my sense of her goodness to me throughout my whole illness: but I did not succeed very well, and was not half heard or understood; for when,—in despair,—I gave up the point, and ventured to say I hoped she would herself feel for me,—she turned towards me with a compassionate sweetness in her countenance, and answered, "Indeed I do!" and I found she had misconceived me to mean for my *sufferings*, when I had thought only of my gratitude.

She told me she had really longed to see Mrs. Locke, and spoke in just praise of her charming countenance. Yet she could not, she owned, agree with her in one thing,—that there was any likeness

between my sister Phillips and me,—and I owned myself “*of her advice.*”

She asked me if I had found my sister's children much grown and improved. “Yes,” I answered, and was indulging myself in an eulogy upon my dear little Fanny, when the arrival of Lady Bute and Lady Louisa Stuart, who were invited by the Queen, cut off our conference, much to my regret, and she returned to her own rooms to receive them.

At night I had a few minutes from Mrs. Delany, by means of the sweet Queen, who kept Lady Bute and Lady Louisa till ten o'clock, but dismissed her at nine, saying she was sure she would like to come to me for the rest of the evening. The Princess Augusta insisted upon taking care of her to my room, and when she begged to be made over to a page, said, “No, no—I want to see Miss Burney again this evening myself.”

Monday.—My kind Mrs. Delany came to me at my breakfast, and stayed with me almost all the morning. We had much to talk over of her affairs. The sweetness, the patience with which she bears the wrongs she receives, even while feeling them with the most poignant sensibility, is so touching a sight, that the hardest heart might melt to look in her soft, suffering countenance, and the worst might be edified by reading what is written in it.

The Royal Family had all been to review Colonel Goldsworthy's regiment. Upon their return, they saw, through my windows, that Mrs. Delany was with me, and the King and Queen both came in to speak to her. How they love her! and what mutual honour does such love confer on all three! The King counselled me to be as much as possible in the air, for the recovery of my strength, graciously naming to me that I should walk in the garden for that purpose,—giving me,

in those words, the licence with the advice. You may believe I would not let the day pass without accepting both.

I had advice, too, from the dinner-party in the next room, afterwards, to invigorate myself in another way. Goter brought me Mr. Turbulent's compliments, and that Miss Goldsworthy had ordered champagne in honour of her brother's review; and he was sure it would do me a great deal of good to permit him to send me a glass, that I might drink the toast he had just given,—“Colonel Goldsworthy and all his dragoons!” I sent him word, I had just eaten a whole chicken, and therefore thought it best to put off my champagne-drinking to another day. My appetite, you see, continues of the same voracious cast as at dear Norbury.

When I had done this feat, I prepared and cloaked myself for my walk in the garden; I heard a rap at the door of my drawing-room; I sent Goter to it, who brought me word she saw the Princess Elizabeth going away. I made what haste I could to stop her, and thank her for her condescension. She assured me I looked *quite spruce* again, and stayed chatting at the door till Mr. Turbulent, hearing our voices from the eating-parlour, came out, followed by Miss Goldsworthy and Mlle. Montmoulin.

Mr. Turbulent seized the opportunity to enter my room, whence I could with difficulty get rid of him; for he told me he had something to communicate to my private ear that I ought to know. And when I begged him to proceed, he said he must inform me . . . “That *Philosopher de Luc* was now turned fly-catcher for Mrs. Schwellenberg's frogs!”¹

’Twas impossible not to laugh, though the

¹ See *post*, under July 2, 1787.

news was far enough from being new to me ; but he made a sport of it that I assured him was quite too obstreperous, and I fairly entreated his departure.

If this, he said, was a subject too gay for me, he had at hand one perfectly fitted for quiet investigation. This was an account of the travels of Mr. Bruce in Abyssinia,¹ which, at last, are actually in the press. The MS. is now with Dr. Douglas, who had lent Mr. Turbulent the frontispiece and advertisement to show to His Majesty, with a map of the journey of Mr. Bruce to the source of the Nile.

Tuesday.—My kindest Mrs. Delany came to me again for all the morning ; and she desired that I would see General Cary, who is here on some reviewing business, as he had wished it, and is some sort of relation to her. He came accordingly ; he is a mighty good-humoured, rattling, gay old man : he knows my father extremely well, and was the first, I believe, who assisted him in putting our James out to sea.

Soon after followed, both here and in town, congratulatory visits on my recovery, from most of the household with whom I am acquainted. You may suppose Mr. Turbulent would not alone be omitted ; but you can hardly suppose how he made me stare when he assured me, most solemnly, that he was now planning, for his first leisure, a ride to Norbury Park !

I begged to know what had occasioned that resolution ?

“I go,” he cried, “to see the spot, the very spot, where Madame la Fite first beheld you.”

I thought him ranting ; and not less when he

¹ James Bruce of Kinnaird, 1736-94, the African traveller, a friend of the Burney family. His *Travels* did not appear until 1790.

proceeded—"I must see the very, the identical piece of earth!—I shall want no one to tell me which it is—I must needs feel it by inspiration, when once I approach that hallowed ground; and who knows what may follow, or what blessing may be in store for me! That spot which blessed Madame la Fite may bless me also; that look—for you loved one another at first sight—that look which she describes, when you met at Lord Locke's——!"

I asked him whether he was really in his senses? And he then positively assured me that Madame La Fite had just published a book,¹ in which she had recounted the origin of her friendship with Miss Burney, whom she met at *Lord and Lady Locke's*!—

I must own I did not believe one word of this: attributing it all to his fertile invention, till he resumed the subject at dinner, in presence of Miss Planta, by whom it was partly confirmed.

I was really vexed for all parties, well knowing my beloved Fredy and Mr. Locke would condemn such an ill-judged *frivolité* as much as I could myself. Miss Planta—and I did not wonder—could not resist a most hearty laugh at it; but Mr. Turbulent protested I had no right to find fault, as that single passage was the only one in the book that had any salt or spirit! "I read that," he cried; "but when I opened it elsewhere, I fell asleep involuntarily."

They then joined in giving a general notion of the composition; to which Mr. Turbulent put a finishing stroke by suddenly exclaiming, "*I, how-*

¹ *Eugénie et ses Élèves; ou lettres et dialogues à l'usage des jeunes gens*, 2 pts., Paris, 1787. The book has a Preface by "Mme. la Marquise de Sillery, ci-devant Comtesse Genlis," and is inscribed to the Princess Elizabeth. At pp. 100 *et seq.* is a portrait of Miss Amélie B***, and a note says: "*On reconnoitra sans peine, même en France, ce portrait si charmant & si ressemblant qui représente avec tant de fidélité l'Auteur célèbre d' 'Evelina' & de 'Cécilia.'—Note de l'Éditeur*" [Mme. de Sillery].

ever, personally, am very angry with Madame La Fite! She has related so many things that can interest nobody, and she has left out all mention of my little Thisbe!"

This was a favourite dog, given him by Mr. Bryant, and which fell out of a window about this time.

In town I found Madame La Fite's book upon my table, *de la part de l'auteur*, and speedily followed by a visit. Cold enough were my thanks for the present; and, to avoid any necessity of comment, since expostulation would now have been too late, I told her, with truth, I had not yet had time to read it.

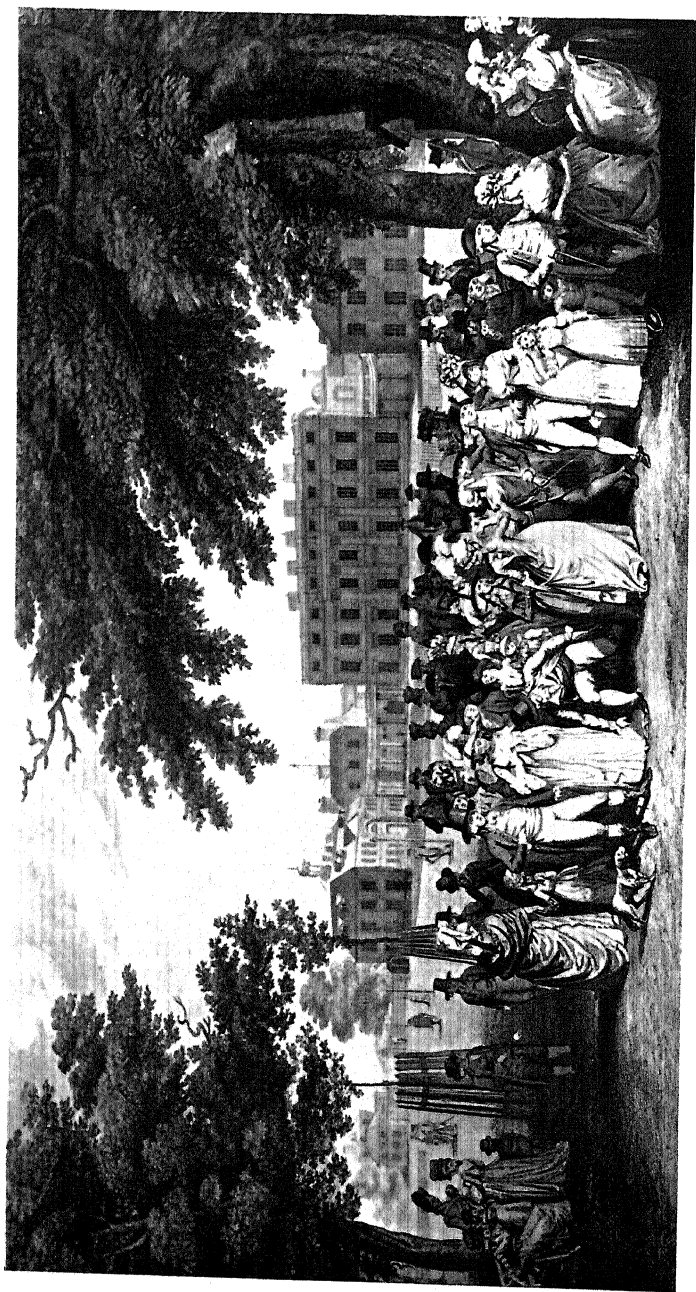
How simple the mistake to suppose flattery so easy!

But if Mr. Turbulent and his Thisbe here escaped mention, he had not, for himself, the same good fortune in the newspapers. Miss Planta told me that an account had been drawn up of all the Royal Household who appeared at the last Commemoration, and he came in thus:—"Mr. Turbulent, who takes care always to be seen——"

Poor Mr. Turbulent laughed, but said, "Pray how can a man six feet high be hid?"

St. James's Palace, June 4.—I have had a dread of the bustle of this day for some weeks, and every kind friend has dreaded it for me: yet am I at this moment more quiet than I have been any single moment since I left my dearest Susan at that last gate of sweet Norbury Park. Till we meet again, I shall feel as if always seeing that beloved sister on that very spot.

Take a little of the humours of this day, with respect to myself, as they have arisen. I quitted my downy pillow at half-past six o'clock; for bad habits in sickness have lost me half an hour of



ST. JAMES'S PARK AND BUCKINGHAM HOUSE, 1790

every morning ; and then, according to an etiquette I discovered but on Friday night, I was quite new dressed : for I find that, on the King's birthday, and on the Queen's, both real and nominal, two new attires, one half, the other full dressed, are expected from all attendants that come into the royal presence.

This first labour was happily achieved in such good time, that I was just seated to my breakfast—a delicate bit of roll half-eaten, and a promising dish of tea well stirred—when I received my summons to attend the Queen.

She was only with her wardrobe-woman, and accepted most graciously a little murmuring congratulation upon the day, which I ventured to whisper while she looked another way. Fortunately for me, she is always quick in conceiving what is meant, and never wastes time in demanding what is said. She told me she had bespoke Miss Planta to attend at the grand toilette at St. James's, as she saw my strength still diminished by my late illness. Indeed it still is, though in all other respects I am perfectly well.

The Queen wore a very beautiful dress, of a new manufacture, of worked muslin, thin, fine, and clear, as the Chambery gauze. I attended her from the Blue Closet, in which she dresses, through the rooms that lead to the breakfast apartment. In one of these, while she stopped for her hair-dresser to finish her head-dress, the King joined her. She spoke to him in German, and he kissed her hand.

The three elder Princesses came in soon after ; they all went up, with congratulatory smiles and curtsies, to their Royal Father, who kissed them very affectionately ; they then, as usual every morning, kissed the Queen's hand. The door was thrown open to the breakfast-room, which is a

noble apartment, fitted up with some of Vandyke's best works; and the instant the King, who led the way, entered, I was surprised by a sudden sound of music, and found that a band of musicians were stationed there to welcome him. The Princesses followed, but Princess Elizabeth turned round to me to say she could hardly bear the sound: it was the first morning of her coming down to breakfast for many months, as she has had that repast in her own room ever since her dangerous illness. It overcame her, she said, more than the dressing, more than the early rising, more than the whole of the hurry and fatigue of all the rest of a public birthday. She loves the King most tenderly; and there is a something in receiving any person who is loved, by sudden music, that I can easily conceive to be very trying to the nerves.

Princess Augusta came back to cheer and counsel her; she begged her to look out at the window, to divert her thoughts, and said she would place her where the sound might be less affecting to her.

A lively "How d'ye do, Miss Burney? I hope you are quite well now?" from the sweet Princess Mary, who was entering the ante-room, made me turn from her two charming sisters; she passed on to the breakfast, soon followed by Princess Sophia, and then a train of their governesses, Miss Goldsworthy, Mademoiselle Montmoulin, and Miss Gomme, all in full dress, with fans. We reciprocated little civilities, and I had then the pleasure to see little Princess Amelia, with Mrs. Cheveley, who brought up the rear. Never, in tale or fable, were there six sister Princesses more lovely.¹

As I had been extremely distressed upon the Queen's birthday, in January, where to go or how

¹ According to Angelo's *Memoirs*, 1830, i. 191, they were praised rapturously for their beauty by Gainsborough, who painted them.

to act, and could obtain no information from my coadjutrix, I now resolved to ask for directions from the Queen herself; and she readily gave them, in a manner to make this gala-day far more comfortable to me than the last. She bade me dress as fast as I could, and go to St. James's by eleven o'clock; but first come into the room to her.

Then followed my grand toilette. The hair-dresser was waiting for me, and he went to work first, and I second, with all our might and main.

When my adorning tasks were accomplished, I went to the Blue Closet. No one was there. I then hesitated whether to go back or seek the Queen. I have a dislike insuperable to entering a Royal presence, except by an immediate summons: however, the directions I had had prevailed, and I went into the adjoining apartment. There stood Madame la Fite! she was talking in a low voice with M. de Luc. They told me the Queen was in the next room, and on I went.

She was seated at a glass, and the hair-dresser was putting in her jewels, while a clergyman in his canonicals was standing near, and talking to her.

I imagined him some bishop unknown to me, and stopped; the Queen looked round, and called out, "Oh, it's Miss Burney!—come in, Miss Burney." In I came, curtsying respectfully to a bow from the canonicals; but I found not out till he answered something said by the Queen, that it was no other than Mr. Turbulent.

Madame la Fite then presented herself at the door (which was open for air) of the ante-room. The Queen bowed to her, and said she would see her presently: she retired, and Her Majesty, in a significant low voice, said to me, "Do go to her, and keep her there a little!"

I obeyed, and being now in no fright nor hurry,

entered into conversation with her sociably and comfortably.

I then went to St. James's. The Queen was most brilliant in attire; and when she was arrayed, Mr. West was allowed to enter the dressing-room, in order to give his opinion of the disposition of her jewels, which indeed were arranged with great taste and effect.

The three Princesses, Princess Royal, Augusta, and Elizabeth, were all very splendidly decorated, and looked beautiful. They were indeed uncommonly handsome, each in their different way—the Princess Royal for figure, the Princess Augusta for countenance, and the Princess Elizabeth for face.

The Duchess of Ancaster, on these gala-days, is always admitted to the dressing-room before the Bedchamber-Women are summoned. I quite forget if I have told you that ceremonial? If not, I will in some future packet.

I made a visit to poor Mrs. Vesey, whom I had not been able to see since my Court residence. I had let her know my intention, by the kind means of Captain Phillips; she had therefore prepared a party for me, among whom I had the pleasure to meet Mr. Walpole, who had come from Strawberry Hill, purposely; and that, I suppose, made me forget the spleen I had conceived against him upon reading his tragedy,¹ which had been so great as to make me wish never more to behold his face. He was very civil and very entertaining. My good

¹ *The Mysterious Mother* (see *ante*, p. 119). Walpole refers to this party in a letter to Hannah More of June 15. "The last time I saw her [Mrs. Vesey], before I left London, Miss Burney passed the evening there, looking quite recovered and well, and so cheerful and agreeable, that the court seems only to have improved the ease of her manner, instead of stamping more reserve on it, as I feared; but what slight graces it can give, will not compensate to us and the world for the loss of her company and her writings" (*Memoirs of Hannah More*, 1834, ii. 75).

Mrs. Ord met me also ; the rest that I can recollect were Lady Herries, Lady Juliana Penn,¹ Lady Clanbrassil, and the Miss Clarks.

Friday, June 8.—This day we came to Windsor for the summer, during which we only go to town for a drawing-room once a fortnight, and to Kew in the way.

Mrs. Schwellenberg remained in town, not well enough to remove. That poor unhappy woman has an existence truly pitiable. Mr. de Luc and Miss Planta were my travelling companions. Mr. Turbulent never belongs to the summer excursions : he is then a fixed inhabitant of Windsor, where his wife keeps house. In the winter she lives in London, and he only comes as a royal attendant, and therefore belongs wholly to the Queen's suite.

The house now was quite full, the King having ordered a party to it for the Whitsun holidays.

This party was Colonel Manners, the equerry in waiting ; Colonel Ramsden, a good-humoured and well-bred old officer of the King's household ; Colonels Welbred and Goldsworthy, and General Budé.

I shall not give these days in separate articles, but string their little events under one head.

One evening I tried vainly for Miss Planta, and, for any other person, my notice was too short. I could not persuade myself to remain singly with so large a party of men, and therefore I even ventured to go for the whole evening to my venerable friend, and sent an apology to the gentlemen, by my man, that I could not have the honour of their company to drink tea with me.

My dear Mrs. Delany was a little frightened at

¹ "Lady Juliana Penn, once mistress of £36,000 a year, is now lodging modestly, humbly, and tranquilly at Petersham on £600 a year ; and her mind is so reconciled to her fortune, that she is still very handsome" (Walpole to Lady Ossory, Aug. 17, 1788).

this step; but I preferred its novelty to its only alternative, and spent three or four hours most delightfully for my pains.

Colonel Hotham, also, a brother of Sir Charles Hotham Thompson, came for a part of these ten days: he belongs to the Prince of Wales; and for two or three of them, M. del Campo.¹

The party proved too large to be generally pleasant unless Mr. Smelt, or some good leader in society, had been present: for as to myself, I am truly insufficient to doing the honours of a mixed company, unless formed of intimate acquaintance.

Colonel Ramsden is gentle and pleasing, but very silent; General Budé is always cheerful, but rises not above a second; Colonel Hotham has a shyness that looks haughty, and therefore distances; Colonel Goldsworthy reserves his sport and humour for particular days and particular favourites; and Colonel Welbred draws back into himself unless the conversation promises either instruction or quiet pleasure; nor would any one of these, during the whole time, speak at all, but to a next neighbour, nor even then, except when that neighbour suited his fancy.

You must not, however, imagine we had no public speakers: M. del Campo harangued aloud to whoever was willing to listen,² and Colonel Manners did the same, without even waiting for that *proviso*.

Colonel Manners, however, I must introduce to you by a few specimens: he is so often, in common with all the equerries, to appear on the scene, that I wish you to make a particular acquaintance with him.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 414.

² Hannah More speaks of the Marquis de Campo as "a giddy, merry mortal, with great animal spirits, and no very shining parts. He has none of the supercilious gravity of his country, and you would rather take him for a frothy Frenchman than a proud Castilian" (*Memoirs*, 1834, ii. 51).

One evening, when we were all, as usual, assembled, he began a discourse upon the conclusion of his waiting, which finishes with the end of June. "Now I don't think," cried he, "that it's well managed: here we're all in waiting for three months at a time, and then for nine months there's nothing!"

"Cry your mercy!" cried Colonel Goldsworthy, "if three months—three whole months!—are not enough for you, pray take a few more from mine to make up your market!"

"No, no, I don't mean that;—but why can't we have our waitings month by month?—would not that be better?"

"I think not!—we should then have no time unbroken."

"Well, but would not that be better than what it is now? Why, we're here so long, that when one goes away nobody knows one!—one has quite to make a new acquaintance! Why, when I first come out of waiting, I never know where to find anybody!"

The Ascot races were held at this time; the Royal Family were to be at them one or two of the days. Colonel Manners earnestly pressed Miss P—— to be there. Colonel Goldsworthy said it was quite immaterial to him who was there, for when he was attending royalty he never presumed to think of any private comfort.

"Well, I don't see that!" cried Colonel Manners,—“for if I was you, and not in my turn for waiting, I should go about just as I liked;—but now, as for me, as it happens to be my own turn, why I think it right to be civil to the King.”

We all looked round;—but Colonel Goldsworthy broke forth aloud—“Civil, quotha?” cried he: “Ha! ha! civil, forsooth!—You're mighty condescending!—the first equerry I ever

heard talk of his *civility* to the King!—‘Duty,’ and ‘respect,’ and ‘humble reverence,’—those are words we are used to,—but here come you with your civility!—Commend me to such affability!”

You see he is not spared; but Colonel Goldsworthy is the wag professed of their community, and privileged to say what he pleases. The other, with the most perfect good-humour, accepted the joke, without dreaming of taking offence at the sarcasm.

Another day I invited Mr. Bryant to dinner, and detained him for the evening party, to meet his favourite Colonel Welbred. Before tea, as he wished to go on the Terrace, I accompanied him thither, where we met the Heberdens, Fieldings, etc., and Colonel Welbred joined us to tell me an incomparable courtier speech just made, by a foreign lady of distinction on the Terrace, to the King:—she had rejoiced in the fineness of the day, which indeed, she said, was so perfect, it was easy to see *who had ordered it!* The King himself turned round, and repeated this ridiculous flight to all his attendants.

The tea, with the present addition of Mr. Bryant for leader, was extremely pleasant. He was, as he constantly is, communicative and instructive, and Colonel Welbred was just the man to draw him forth, and keep him in employ, by judicious observations and modest inquiries. Mr. Bryant was quite delighted with him, and gave me to understand he should be very much gratified by an opportunity of making a further acquaintance with him. I am sure I shall be very happy to find it him.

The subjects with Mr. Bryant are almost always antiquities, or odd accidents; but this night Dr. Herschel and his newly-discovered volcanoes in the moon came in for their share.

The following evening, when the same party, Mr. Bryant excepted, were assembled, the King sent for Colonel Ramsden to play at backgammon. "Happy, happy man!" exclaimed Colonel Goldsworthy, exultingly; but scarce had he uttered the words ere he was summoned to follow himself. "What! already!" cried he,—“without even my tea! Why this is worse and worse!—no peace in Israel!—only one half-hour allowed for comfort, and now that's swallowed! Well, I must go;—make my compliments aside, and my bows and smiles in full face!”

Off he went, but presently, in a great rage, came back, and, while he drank a hot dish of tea which I instantly presented him, kept railing at his stars for ever bringing him under a royal roof. "If it had not been for a puppy," cried he, "I had never got off even to scald my throat in this manner! But they've just got a dear little new ugly dog: so one puppy gave way to t'other, and I just left them to kiss and hug it, while I stole off to drink this tea! But this is too much!—no peace for a moment!—no peace in Israel!"

When this was passed, Colonel Welbred renewed some of the conversation of the preceding day with me; and, just as he named Dr. Herschel, Colonel Manners broke forth with his dissenting opinions. "I don't give up to Dr. Herschel at all," cried he; "he is all system; and so they are all: and if they can but make out their systems, they don't care a pin for anything else. As to Herschel, I liked him well enough till he came to his volcanoes in the moon, and then I gave him up: I saw he was just like the rest. How should he know anything of the matter? There's no such thing as pretending to measure at such a distance as that."

Colonel Welbred, to whom I looked for an

answer, instead of making any, waited in quiet silence till he had exhausted all he had to say upon the subject, and then, turning to me, made some inquiry about the Terrace, and went on to other general matters. But, some time after, when all were engaged, and this topic seemed quite passed, he calmly began, in general terms, to lament that the wisest and best of people were always so little honoured or understood in their own time, and added that he had no doubt but Sir Isaac Newton had been as much scoffed and laughed at formerly as Herschel was now; but concluded, in return, Herschel, hereafter, would be as highly revered as Sir Isaac was at present.

This quiet reproof, though not at all comprehended as such by the one to whom it was addressed, satisfied me at once of his justness of judgment upon the subject, and his good sense in making it so tardily known, to avoid a vain argument that could have turned to so little purpose.

We had then some discourse upon dress and fashions. Colonel Welbred regretted that we had not had little figures, dressed in the habits of the times, preserved from every century; and proceeded with enumerating various changes in the modes, from square shoes to peaked, from the mantle to the coat, the whiskers to the smooth chin, etc., till Colonel Manners interrupted him with observing, "Why, you may wear things of all times now, ever so far back;—*buckles of four years ago*, if you will!"

There was certainly no gaining further ground here!

Virtuosos being next, unfortunately, named, Colonel Manners inveighed against them quite violently, protesting they all wanted common

honour and honesty ; and, to complete the happy subject, he instanced, in particular, Sir William Hamilton, who, he declared, had absolutely robbed both the King and State of Naples !

After this, somebody related that, upon the heat in the air being mentioned to Dr. Heberden, he had answered that he supposed it proceeded from the last eruption in the volcano in the moon. "Ay," cried Colonel Manners, "I suppose he knows as much of the matter as the rest of them : if you put a candle at the end of a telescope, and let him look at it, he'll say, what an eruption there is in the moon ! I mean if Dr. Herschel would do it to him ; I don't say he would think so from such a person as me."

"But Mr. Bryant himself has seen this volcano from the telescope."

"Why, I don't mind Mr. Bryant any more than Dr. Heberden : he's just as credulous as t'other."

I wanted to ask by what criterion he settled these points in so superior a manner ;—but I thought it best to imitate the silence of Colonel Welbred, who constantly called a new subject, upon every pause, to avoid all argument and discussion ; while the good-humoured Colonel Manners was just as ready to start forward in the new subject, as he had been in that which had been set aside.

One other evening I invited Madame la Fite : but it did not prove the same thing ; they have all a really most undue dislike of her, and shirk her conversation, and fly to one another, to discourse on hunting and horses.

Poor Madame la Fite cordially returns, without knowing, their aversion ; for she concludes them always the same, and bemoans my lot in spending any time with them. She stayed with me all the rest of the evening. She read me some

of Madame de Genlis' new work upon Religion :¹ it seems an excellent one.

The following Sunday, June 17, I was tempted to go on the Terrace, in order to see the celebrated Madame de Polignac,² and her daughter, Madame de Guiche. They were to be presented, with the Duke de Polignac, to their Majesties, upon the Terrace. Their rank entitled them to this distinction; and the Duchess of Ancaster, to whom they had been extremely courteous abroad, came to Windsor to introduce them. They were accompanied to the Terrace by Mrs. Harcourt and the General, with whom they were also well acquainted.

They went to the place of rendezvous at six o'clock; the royal party followed about seven, and was very brilliant upon the occasion. The King and Queen led the way, and the Prince of Wales, who came purposely to honour the interview, appeared at it also, in the King's Windsor uniform. Lady Weymouth was in waiting upon the Queen. The Duchess of Ancaster, Lady Charlotte Bertie, and Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, with some other ladies, I think, attended: but the two eldest Princesses, to the very great detriment of the scenery, were ill, and remained at home. Princesses Elizabeth and Mary were alone in the Queen's suite; and to the gentlemen I have already mentioned there were added Sir George Howard and some others.

I went with Miss P—— and Mrs. and Miss Heberden. The crowd was so great, it was difficult to move. Their Majesties and their train

¹ *La Religion considérée comme l'unique Base du Bonheur et de la véritable Philosophie*, 1787.

² Yolande-Martine-Gabrielle de Polastron, Comtesse, and afterwards Duchesse, de Polignac, 1749-93, friend of Maria Antoinette. The Duchesse de Guiche was her only daughter. Walpole refers to Mme. de Polignac in a letter to Conway of this very date.

occupied a large space, and their attendants had no easy task in keeping them from being incommoded by the pressing of the people. They stopped to converse with these noble travellers for more than an hour. Madame la Duchesse de Polignac is a very well-looking woman, and Madame de Guiche is very pretty. There were other ladies and gentlemen in their party. But I was much amused by their dress, which they meant should be entirely *à l'Anglaise*; for which purpose they had put on plain undress gowns, with close ordinary black silk bonnets! I am sure they must have been quite confused when they saw the Queen and Princesses, with their ladies, who were all dressed with uncommon care, and very splendidly.

But I was glad, at least, they should all witness, and report, the reconciliation of the King and the Prince of Wales, who frequently spoke together, and were both in good spirits.

Miss P—— and myself had, afterwards, an extremely risible evening with Colonels Goldsworthy, Welbred, and Manners: the rest were summoned away to the King, or retired to their own apartments. Colonel Welbred began the sport, undesignedly, by telling me something new relative to Dr. Herschel's volcanoes. This was enough for Colonel Manners, who declared aloud his utter contempt for such pretended discoveries. He was deaf to all that could be said in answer, and protested he wondered how any man of common sense could ever listen to such a pack of stuff.

Mr. de Luc's opinion upon the subject being then mentioned—he exclaimed, very disdainfully, “Oh, as to Mr. de Luc, he's another man for a system himself, and I'd no more trust him than anybody: if you was only to make a little bonfire,

and put it upon a hill a little way off, you might make him take it for a volcano directly!—And Herschel's not a bit better. Those sort of philosophers are the easiest taken in in the world."

A smile from Colonel Welbred led me to say to him, "We must wait Sir Isaac's round for Dr. Herschel!" And I owned to him I had been a little startled at his silence the other evening, till he had explained his notions, that *Time only* could bring about *justice*.

"Oh yes," cried he, "this is all as it should be—in the mere regular progress of things; all great discoverers must be abused and disbelieved in their lifetime: I should doubt the skill and science of Dr. Herschel myself, if he escaped any better at present."

Colonel Manners was talking on during this, and quite inattentive to what might be said in answer.

Our next topic was still more ludicrous. Colonel Manners asked me if I had not heard something very harmonious at church in the morning? I answered I was too far off, if he meant from himself.

"Yes," said he; "I was singing with Colonel Welbred; and he said he was my second.—How did I do that song?"

"Song?—Mercy!" exclaimed Colonel Goldsworthy; "a song at church!—why it was the 104th Psalm!"

"But how did I do it, Welbred; for I never tried at it before?"

"Why,—pretty well," answered Colonel Welbred, very composedly; "only now and then you run me a little into 'God save the King.'"

This dryness discomposed every muscle but of Colonel Manners, who replied, with great simplicity, "Why, that's because that's the tune I know best!"

"At least," cried I, "'twas a happy mistake to make so near their Majesties!"

"But pray, now, Colonel Welbred, tell me sincerely,—could you really make out what I was singing?"

"Oh yes," answered Colonel Welbred; "with the *words*."

"Well, but pray, now, what do you call my voice?"

"Why—a—a—a counter-tenor."

"Well, and is that a good voice?"

There was no resisting,—even the quiet Colonel Welbred could not resist laughing out here. But Colonel Manners, quite at his ease, continued his self-discussion.

"I do think, now, if I was to have a person to play over a thing to me again and again, and then let me sing it, and stop me every time I was wrong, I do think I should be able to sing 'God save the King' as well as some ladies do, that have always people to show them."

"You have a good chance then here," cried I, "of singing some pieces of Handel, for I am sure you hear them again and again."

"Yes, but that is not the thing; for though I hear them do it so often over, they don't stop for me to sing it after them, and then to set me right. Now I'll try if you'll know what this is."

He then began humming aloud, "My soul praise," etc., so very horribly, that I really found all decorum at an end, and laughed, with Miss P——, *à qui mieux mieux*. Too much engaged to mind this, he very innocently, when he had done, applied to us all round for our opinions.

Miss P—— begged him to sing another, and asked for that he had spouted the other day, "Care, thou bane of love and joy."

He instantly complied; and went on, in such

shocking, discordant, and unmeaning sounds, that nothing in a farce could be more risible: in defiance, however, of all interruptions, he continued till he had finished one stanza; when Colonel Goldsworthy loudly called out,—“There,—there’s enough!—have mercy!”

“Well, then, now I’ll try something else.”

“Oh no!” cried Colonel Goldsworthy, hastily; “thank you, thank you for this,—but I won’t trouble you for more—I’ll not hear another word!”

Colonel Welbred then, with an affected seriousness, begged to know, since he took to singing, what he should do for a shake, which was absolutely indispensable.”

“A shake?” he repeated, “what do you mean?”

“Why—a shake with the voice, such as singers make.”

“Why, how must I do it?”

“Oh, really, I cannot tell you!”

“Why then I’ll try myself,—is it so . . . ?”

And he began such a harsh hoarse noise, that Colonel Goldsworthy exclaimed, between every other sound,—“No, no,—no more!” While Colonel Welbred professed teaching him, and gave such ridiculous lessons and directions,—now to stop short, now to swell,—now to sink the voice, etc. etc.,—that, between the master and the scholar, we were almost demolished.

Afterwards,—“I think,” cried Colonel Welbred, turning to me, “we might make a little concert among ourselves when Major Price comes.”

This was the last day of freedom for the whole livelong summer!—Were we not right to laugh while we were able? The next day—to dinner—arrived Mrs. Schwellenberg.

Tuesday, June 19.—Mr. Smelt came early to

Windsor, to inquire after the Princesses, who all had now the measles, except Princesses Elizabeth and Amelia; but, thank God, all did well, though the Princess Royal was once in much danger. Sir Richard Jebb attended them; and I was quite happy to see that excellent old friend and physician again, to whom I had already been so frequently obliged.

Mr. Smelt was so kind as to breakfast with me; and then he hastened back to his family, all in happy commotion. Miss Cholmley was to be married to Lord Mulgrave on Wednesday:¹ she is most amiable; he must be happy—may he but make her so too!

I had many visits at this time, with measles-inquiries concerning the Princesses; and, amongst them, one to-day from a lady, who, entering my room with an air of friendly freedom, asked me how I did, as if we had been old acquaintances of great intimacy, taking my hand, and nodding and laughing all the time.

I just recollected the face and manner, but not the name, till she said, "What! don't you know me? Oh, you naughty child! I thought we were to have been good neighbours!"

I then saw it was Mrs. Harcourt. I apologised as well as I could, and begged her to be seated.

"No," cried she, "I can't; for I have a man out there waiting for me—my uncle—he brought me."

Ha! ha! do not you know her again, though I had forgot her?

A few more speeches followed, and then she went her way—and I went mine, to my toilette—that eternal business—never ending, and never

¹ "My pretty friend Miss Cholmeley is going to be married to Lord Mulgrave: seventeen and forty-seven is a little disparity, but it is her own choice, though she has beauty and fortune" (Hannah More's *Memoirs*, 1834, ii. 53).

profiting! I think to leave the second syllable out, for the future; the *ette* is superfluous, the first is all-sufficient.

My dearest Mrs. Delany came to me early, and was fetched away by the King and the Princess Amelia. At tea we had Miss P——, Madame la Fite, Colonel Manners, and, of course, now, Mrs. Schwollenberg, who presides.

We were scarcely all arranged when the Colonel eagerly said, "Pray, Mrs. Schwollenberg, have you lost anything?"

"Me?—no, not I!"

"No?—what, nothing?"

"Not I!"

"Well, then, that's very odd! for I found something that had your name writ upon it."

"My name? and where did you find that?"

"Why—it was something I found in my bed."

"In your bed?—Oh, ver well! that is reelly comeecal!"

"And pray what was it?" cried Miss P——.

"Why—a great large, clumsy lump of leather."

"Of leadder, sir?—of leadder? What was that for me?"

"Why, ma'am, it was so big and so heavy, it was as much as I could do to lift it!"

"Well, that was nothing from me! when it was so heavy, you might let it alone!"

"But, ma'am, Colonel Welbred said it was somewhat of yours."

"Of mine?—Oh, ver well! Colonel Welbred might not say such thing! I know nothing, sir, from your leadder, nor from your bed, sir,—not I!"

"Well, ma'am, then your maid does. Colonel Welbred says he supposes it was she."

"Upon my vord! Colonel Welbred might not

say such things from my maid! I won't not have it so!"

"Oh yes, ma'am; Colonel Welbred says she often does so. He says she's a very gay lady."

She was quite too much amazed to speak: one of her maids, Mrs. Arline, is a poor humble thing, that would not venture to jest, I believe, with the kitchen-maid; and the other has never before been at Windsor.

"But what was it?" cried Miss P——.

"Why, I tell you—a great, large lump of leather, with 'Madame Schwellenberg' wrote upon it. However, I've ordered it to be sold."

"To be sold? How will you have it sold, sir? You might tell me that, when you please."

"Why, by auction, ma'am."

"By auction, sir? What, when it had my name upon it? Upon my vord!—how came you to do dat, sir? Will you tell me, once?"

"Why, I did it for the benefit of my man, ma'am, that he might have the money."

"But for what is your man to have it, when it is mine?"

"Because, ma'am, it frightened him so."

"Oh, ver well! Do you rob, sir? Do you take what is not your own, but others', sir, because your man is frightened?"

"Oh yes, ma'am! We military men take all we can get!"

"What! in the King's house, sir?"

"Why then, ma'am, what business had it in my bed? My room's my castle; nobody has a right there. My bed must be my treasury; and here they put me a thing into it big enough to be a bed itself."

"Oh! vell! (much alarmed) it might be my bed-case, then!"

(Whenever Mrs. Schwellenberg travels, she

carries her bed, in a large black leather case, behind her servants' carriage.)

"Very likely, ma'am."

"Then, sir," very angrily, "how come you by it?"

"Why, I'll tell you, ma'am. I was just going to bed; so my servant took one candle, and I had the other. I had just had my hair done, and my curls were just rolled up, and he was going away; but I turned about, by accident, and I saw a great lump in my bed; so I thought it was my clothes. 'What do you put them there for?' says I. 'Sir,' says he, 'it looks as if there was a drunken man in the bed!' 'A drunken man?' says I. 'Take the poker, then, and knock him o' the head——!'"

"Knock him o' the head?" interrupted Mrs. Schwollenberg. "What! when it might be some innocent person? Fie! Colonel Manner! I thought you had been too good-natured for such thing—to poker the people in the King's house!"

"Then what business have they to get into my bed, ma'am? So then my man looked nearer, and he said, 'Sir, why here's your night-cap!—and here's the pillow!—and here's a great, large lump of leather!' 'Shovel it all out!' says I. 'Sir,' says he, 'it's Madame Schwollenberg's; here's her name on it.' 'Well, then,' says I, 'sell it, to-morrow, to the saddler.'"

"What! when you knew it was mine, sir? Upon my word, you been ver good!" (bowing very low).

"Well, ma'am, it's all Colonel Welbred, I daresay; so, suppose you and I were to take the law of him?"

"Not I, sir!" (scornfully).

"Well, but let's write him a letter, then, and frighten him: let's tell him it's sold, and he must make it good. You and I'll do it together."

"No, sir; you might do it yourself! I am not so familiar to write to gentlemens."

"Why then, you shall only sign it, and I'll frank it."¹

Here the entrance of some new person stopped the discussion.

Happy in his success, he began, the next day, a new device: he made an attack in politics, and said, he did not doubt but Mr. Hastings would come to be hanged; though he assured us, afterwards, he was firmly his friend, and believed no such thing.

Even with this not satisfied, he next told her that he had just heard Mr. Burke was in Windsor.

Mr. Burke is the name in the world most obnoxious, both for his Reform Bill, which deeply affected all the household, and for his prosecution of Mr. Hastings; she therefore declaimed against him very warmly.

"Should you like to know him, ma'am?" cried he.

"Me?—No; not I."

"Because, I daresay, ma'am, I have interest enough with him to procure you his acquaintance. Shall I bring him to the Lodge, to see you?"

"When you please, sir, you might keep him to yourself!"

"Well, then, he shall come and dine with me, and after it drink tea with you."

"No, no, not I! You might have him all to yourself."

"Oh, but if he comes, you must make his tea."

"There is no such must, sir! I do it for my pleasure only—when I please, sir!"

At night, when we were separating, he whispered Miss P—— that he had something else in store

¹ Colonel Manners was a Member of Parliament (see *post*, under April 23, 1790).

for the next meeting, when he intended to introduce magnetising.

I was stopped on the Terrace by Madame la Fite, to introduce me to Monsieur Tremblai, who had seen my sister and Monsieur and Madame Locke at Norbury. The recommendation was great to me; but the florid speech accompanying it made me involuntarily draw back, and, the moment I was able, retreat. Mrs. Turbulent was also in the party, and we were introduced to each other for the first time. She looks very pleasing.

There were also several other foreigners; and Colonel Manners expressed a warm disapprobation of them, saying, "Why, now these people take to coming on the Terrace so, I suppose everthing one says will be put in the *Brussels Gazette*!"¹

July 1, Sunday.—Alarming to my heart was the opening of this month! As soon as I came from church, I found a note from Miss P——, that my beloved Mrs. Delany was taken extremely ill. Oh how did I suffer in not instantly flying to her! I was compelled only to write, and to stay for my noon attendance; but the moment I then acquainted the Queen with my intelligence, which indeed she saw untold, she most sweetly and kindly dispensed with my services, said Mrs. Schwellenberg should wait alone, and permitted me to be absent for the whole day.

The sweet soul—all heart, all sensibility, unhackneyed by the world, uninjured by age and time—had suffered a mental distress, and to that solely was her illness owing. Something had gone

¹ This worshipful organ is referred to in Garrick's *Heart of Oak*, 1760:

We'll still make 'em run, and we'll still make 'em sweat,
In spite of the devil, and *Brussels Gazette*.—

It was notorious for its shameless mendacity.

very wrong, and so deeply was she wounded, that she had been seized with cruel nervous spasms, that ended in a high fever. Mr. Young, her town apothecary, had been sent for. I went to her bedside as calmly as was in my power, and there I spent the precious day.

How edifying, between whiles, was the conversation she held with me! how prepared for the last scene!—with what humble, yet fervent joy expecting its approach! It seemed almost wicked to pray for its delay,—yet, while destined to stay in the world, can we help devoutly wishing to detain those who best can fit us for quitting it?

We sent for Dr. Heberden;—he saw no immediate danger; Mr. Young soon arrived, and gave hope of recovery. With what exquisite sensations of delight did I hear that sound!

The Queen herself presently came to the house, and sent for me downstairs to the drawing-room. She was equally surprised and pleased that so fair a prospect was once again opening. She then ordered Miss P—— to her, and I returned to this most honoured friend, whose sweet soft smiles never a moment forsook her when she saw me approach, or permitted me to be seated by her side.

The King, also, came himself, in the evening, and sent for me. I delighted his benignant heart with a still fairer account, for all went better and better; and before I was forced, at night, to tear myself away, she was so happily revived, that I left her with scarce a tear, though I would have given the world not to have left her at all.

Monday, July 2.—When I returned home in the evening from my beloved friend, with whom I had spent the morning and the evening, I waited upon Mrs. Schwellenberg, whom I found alone,

and much out of spirits. She informed me that Sir Richard Jebb, who had been in close attendance at the Lodge, upon the Princesses who had the measles, was himself very dangerously ill,¹ and not likely ever to be better. I heard this with great concern; and the prophecy turned out but too true.

While we were talking this over, Colonel Manners entered the room, followed by another *uniform*; and coming straight up to me, said, "Miss Burney, will you give me leave to introduce Colonel Gwynn to you—the new equerry, and my successor?"

A few bows and curtsies ensued, and we entered into a little formal discourse, till they said they must show themselves in the music-room, and retreated.

Colonel Gwynn is reckoned a remarkably handsome man, and he is husband to the beautiful eldest daughter of Mrs. Horneck.² More of him anon.

Afterwards we heard a little humming in the passage. My companion said she would soon know who dared do that in the King's house; and desired me to look. But I declined the office, for I knew the voice; and she therefore went herself, and returned with a smile: "Oh, 'tis only the *Madger*!" and invited him in.

For a few minutes he complied, but hurried off as soon as possible.

What a stare was drawn from our new equerry the following evening, by Major Price's gravely asking Mrs. Schwellenberg after the health of her Frogs! She answered they were very well, and the Major said, "You must know, Colonel

¹ Sir Richard Jebb, *d.* July 4, 1787.

² See vol. i. p. 171. But Mary Horneck was the *younger* daughter.

Gwynn, Mrs. Schwellenberg keeps a pair of Frogs."

"Of Frogs?—pray what do they feed upon?"

"Flies, sir," she answered.

"And pray, ma'am, what food have they in winter?"

"Nothing other."

The stare was now still wider.

"But I can make them croak when I will," she added; "when I only go so to my snuff-box, knock, knock, knock, they croak all what I please."

"Very pretty, indeed!" exclaimed Colonel Goldsworthy.

"I thought to have some spawn," she continued; "but Lady Maria Carlton, what you call Lady Doncaster, came and frightened them; I was never so angry!"

"I am sorry for that," cried the Major, very seriously, "for else I should have begged a pair."

"So you meant, ma'am, to have had a breed of them," cried Colonel Goldsworthy; "a breed of young frogs? Vastly clever indeed!"

Then followed a formal enumeration of their virtues and endearing little qualities, which made all laugh except the new equerry, who sat in perfect amaze.

Then, suddenly, she stopped short, and called out, "There! now I have told you all this, you might tell something to me. I have talked enoff; now you might amuse *me*."

Major Price, to humour the demand, instantly said he would tell a story; and so he did, and such a story as truly won my surprise at his courage! It was of a Sir Joseph something, who was walking by the side of a pond, and fell plump in, and being well soused, got out again! It diverted, however, so well, that Colonel Goldsworthy was desired to

do as much. And so he did, and just in the same style; and, had I not been yet low from Mrs. Delany's continued confinement, I must have laughed at this intrepid absurdity.

Poor Colonel Gwynn, expecting the next summons, could not laugh at all; but he was happily relieved by the appearance of the Princess Amelia, who came to order him and Colonel Goldsworthy to attend her to the Lower Lodge.

July 7.—This morning I received so urgent a note from Mrs. de Luc, to invite me to meet M. de la Blancherie,¹ a foreign man of letters, just come over, that I could not refuse her. Indeed I do not love to refuse her. She is so gentle and quiet in her management of those sort of encounters, that, even though I know them designed and arranged, she contrives to make me feel them carried off as if they were accidental.

I was not much *charmée* with M. de la Blancherie: he is lively, full of talk, ready to take the lead, and perfectly satisfied everybody is ready that he should.

Poor Madame la Fite was there, and looked much surprised at sight of me. I cannot bring her to understand that an old acknowledged friend, like Mrs. de Luc, has a claim upon me that any other acquaintance must make before they should demand.

M. de la Blancherie has a scheme of a periodical work that I do not think likely to succeed. He by no means strikes me to have abilities equal to supporting such an undertaking after its first novelty is over. He invited me to Paris, and with a torrent of compliments acquainted me I was

¹ Flammès-Claude-Catherine-Pahin Champlain de Lablancherie, 1752-1811, French man-of-letters. From 1778 to 1788 he published *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres et des Arts*, "*feuille hebdomadaire*," in 8vo. He was one of the many suitors of Manon Philipon, afterwards Mme. Roland.

expected there ; and then followed another torrent upon other expectations.

Dry was the gulf into which these torrents poured—no stream met them, no emotion stirred them,—and so they soon grew stagnant. Indeed, I often wonder with myself if ever while I live, this right hand will find other employment than writing to you.

I was obliged to write two letters for M. de la Blancherie, one to my father, and one to Charles, whom he had met in his little Paris excursion.

A note from M. de la Blancherie, which I received the next morning, I shall copy.

A Miss

Miss Burney, To Vindsor.

M. de la Blancherie présente son respect à Miss Burney, et tous les autres hommages qui lui sont dûs, et il a l'honneur de la remercier des deux lettres qu'elle a bien voulu lui donner pour M. son père et M. son frère. Il sera très empressé de les porter, et de jouir de tous les avantages qu'il s'en promet. Il sera très heureux s'il peut encore être à portée de faire sa cour à l'une des Muses Angloises, et s'il a l'occasion de remplir envers elle les obligations de l'agent de correspondance. Il prend la liberté de joindre à ce billet un petit prospectus de l'établissement qui lui a procuré l'honneur de connoître Miss, et d'être couvert de son Egide.

VVindsor, le 8 Juillet, 1787.

Thus, being in the same note a Muse, Minerva, and a Miss, Mrs. Delany has called me M. M. M. ever since.

Mrs. Schwellenberg had a German family to dine here—M. and Madame Freuss, and some

young men: they talked nothing but German, and I understood not a word. I liked it very well.

July 10.—We came to Kew—Mrs. Schwollenberg, Miss Planta, Mr. de Luc, and myself. Mrs. Schwollenberg was extremely angered against the equerries, who had wholly neglected all conversation with her, and hurried out of the room the moment they had drunk their tea. She protested that if they did not mind, she would have them no more, but let them make their tea for themselves. “Oh yes, I will put an end to it! your humble servant! when they won’t talk to me, they may stay; comical men! they bin bears!”

Mr. Fisher said to me, “A friend of yours, ma’am, drank tea with me lately—one who did not ask after you!”

“And who was that?”

“There can be but one of that description in the universe!”

He meant, I found, poor Mrs. Piozzi. May she be happy! She has had her share of making me otherwise—a share the world holds not power to give to her again. Alas! she has lost what gave that ascendance! And those cannot long give great pain who have forfeited their power to give pleasure. I find this truth more and more strongly every time I think of her; but where I find its strength the most, is that I think of her, any way, less and less.

The same German family dined with us again at Kew; and now I had my share in the company. They no longer confined themselves to their own language: they eagerly came up to me, as I entered the room, to tell me, in broken English, that they had not known who I was when they were at Windsor. The lady told me she had read my

book in German,¹ and liked it "best of any book," adding, warmly, "*Upon my word, it is so vat I sink, dat I wiss I had wrote it selfs!*" The gentleman, in French, told me he was charmed to know my name, but said he had little enough imagined himself in a room with one "*si bien connue*" by him already, "*par la renommée.*"

So you see, my dear friends, here is a little of the old flummery coming round to me again.

Madame de Freuss took me by the hand and the arm, and charged me to sit by her, and talk to her, and not to *esquiver* so continually: however, I could not help it, for when her hand was off me, there was nothing else to draw me.

The next day, at St. James's, when I retired from the Queen's apartments to my own, who should I find there but Madame de Freuss! waiting for me, with Mrs. Farman the mantua-maker, and a couple of milliners! I despatched them soon; but not my new friend. My dear father came; "She was glad to see him." Mrs. and Miss Ord called—that did not disturb her. Mr. Stanhope peeped in,—that had no sort of effect. My two Worcester cousins came,—and "She liked to see any of my family."

Well—she outstayed every one of them!

Well! she is gone back to Germany, so no matter. Poor Mrs. Ord was in deep dejection at the loss of Sir Richard Jebb;²—she was going to Bath, and took leave of me till November—sadly on both sides.

The Queen, in the sweetest manner in the world, gave me this morning a little pocket inkstand, with a gold pen. Was it not almost an invitation to make some visible use of it?

¹ *Cecilia, oder Geschichte einer reichen Waise. Von der Verfasserin der Evelina. Aus dem Englischen. 3 Theile, Leipzig, 1783-1784, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 8vo.*

² See *ante*, p. 274.

July 13.—We returned to Windsor; and I flew, as usual, to my beloved Mrs. Delany, to spend there my customary hour between the coffee and tea time. Oh, how sweet to me that hour!

This most beloved friend told me Dr. Beattie¹ was in Windsor, and had desired to meet me at her house. I was very glad of such an opportunity, and fixed the next evening.

Our tea-party now consisted of Colonel Gwynn and General Budé. It was impossible not to smile a little, when, upon my taking my work to the window, aloof, as usual, my companion, after their departure, said she never saw such rude people in her life, and added, "You been right to despise them so, and I will do it the same!"

Her Majesty lent me Mrs. Scott's *Filial Duty* to read. I think I have seldom perused anything that has contained less to surprise.

I kept my appointment with Dr. Beattie, and was much gratified by so doing. I found him pleasant, unaffected, unassuming, and full of conversible intelligence; with a round, thick, clunch² figure, that promises nothing either of his works or his discourse; yet his eye, at intervals, and when something breaks from him pointed and sudden, shoots forth a ray of genius that instantly lights up his whole countenance. His voice and his manners are particularly and pleasingly mild, and seem to announce an urbanity of character both inviting and edifying.

My very high admiration of his two principal productions, the *Minstrel* and the *Immutability of Truth*, made it a real satisfaction to me to see their author; and finding him such as I have described, I felt a desire to be acquainted with him that made

¹ James Beattie, 1735-1803. His *Minstrel* was published 1771-74; his *Essay on Truth* in 1770.

² Stumpy, thickset. This is a Burney word, which Fanny also uses for Mrs. Chapone, and Lady Frances Douglas (see *post.*, under Oct. 20, 1788).

me regret my little likelihood of meeting with him again. His present errand to Windsor was to see Mrs. Delany.

The *Immutability of Truth* is full of religious instruction, conveyed with such a rare mixture of precision and of wit as to carry amusement hand in hand with conviction: at least such it appeared to me when I read it, at the desire of Mrs. Chapone, who lent it me. Yet the opening, I remember, was so obscure and metaphysical, that I had nearly abandoned the book, in despair of comprehending it: Mrs. Chapone would not suffer me to give it up, and I have felt much obliged ever since to her persevering exhortations.

Once before, when I lived in the world, I had met with Dr. Beattie, but he then spoke very little, the company being large; and for myself, I spoke not at all. Our personal knowledge of each other therefore sunk not very deep. It was at the house of Miss Reynolds. My ever-honoured Dr. Johnson was there, and my poor Mrs. Thrale, her daughter, Mrs. Ord, Mrs. Horneck, Mrs. Gwynn, the Bishop of Dromore, and Mrs. Percy, and Mr. Boswell, and Mr. Seward, with some others.

Many things do I recollect of that evening, particularly one laughable circumstance. I was coming away at night, without having been seen by Dr. Johnson, but knowing he would reproach me afterwards, I begged my father to tell him I wished him good-night. He instantly called me up to him, took both my hands, which he extended as far asunder as they would go, and just as I was unfortunately curtsying to be gone, he let them loose and dropped both his own on the two sides of my hoop, with so ponderous a weight, that I could not for some time rise from the inclined posture into which I had put myself,

and in which, though quite unconscious of what he was about, he seemed forcibly holding me.

I liked my little encounter so well, that the next day I not only repeated it, but as Dr. Beattie was so kind as to give up an appointment for the next day, that the same little party might again take place, I made my customary preparations, and went for the whole evening instead of my ordinary hour.

He was very pleasant, and in better spirits than the preceding day. He was gayer, as I found afterwards, with me, as a stranger, than with any of his old acquaintances, for his mind was sad and wounded by domestic misfortunes.

Mrs. Delany, in the course of the evening, was called out of the room: he then, in a low voice, and looking another way, very gently said—"I must now, ma'am, seize an opportunity for which I have long wished, to tell you of the equal amazement and pleasure I have received from you."

And then, without further preamble, he entered upon the *old subject*, and uttered such flattering things as were now, from a person such as him, become almost new to my ears, and I was really ready to run away.

When my dear Mrs. Delany returned, he was so kind and so delicate as to suffer her to change the subject, which she, with her never-failing indulgence to my every inclination, immediately attempted.

She asked him if there were any hopes of anything new from him. No, he said, he had been otherwise employed. I then ventured a wish for a conclusion to the *Minstrel*. He owned he had written another book, but that he had disapproved and burned it.

"Oh!" I exclaimed in parody from his *Edwin*,
 "then may we say of Dr. Beattie—

"Some thought him wondrous *odd*; and some believed him
 mad!"¹

He laughed heartily, and said to Mrs. Delany,
 "Miss Burney, ma'am, vanquishes me with my
 own weapons!" And then we went on to other
 subjects, till I was forced to decamp.

In coming away he told me he heard that Lady
 Pembroke² was at the Queen's Lodge, and asked
 me to give him directions how he might see her.
 I offered to convey a note to her, for I could ven-
 ture at nothing further; but I added, that when
 she had made her appointment, if he would call at
 my door I should think myself much honoured,
 though I could not have had the courage to solicit
 his coming to the house purposely to see me.

"Not purposely!" cried he, with the utmost
 good-humour and vivacity, "why, I would go to
 the Land's End!"

He then positively and undeniably insisted I
 should name my own time for seeing him, without
 any reference to Lady Pembroke, or any other
 lady, or any other thing whatsoever. I thanked
 him, and accepting his kindness, mentioned three
 o'clock for the next day.

I determined to acquaint the Queen with my
 assignation, but felt so certain of her indisputable
 approbation, that I could not be uneasy at not
 speaking to her first.

I like Dr. Beattie extremely. I am quite happy
 he made this visit. My dearest Mrs. Delany told
 me he had been formerly amongst the first of men
 in his social powers; but family calamities had

¹ "The neighbours star'd and sigh'd, yet bless'd the lad :

Some deem'd him wondrous wise, and some believed him mad."

Beattie's *Minstrel*, St. 16.

² See vol. i. p. 283.

greatly altered him. I was truly sorry to hear of his sad fate, but as I had not known him in his happier days, I found him now all I could wish him.

Mrs. Delany, according to an almost general custom, came for me the next morning early, in her chaise, to air with her. She was met by the King, who rode up to her, and asked whither she was going. "Only to spend one quarter of an hour with Miss Burney, sir," was her answer. "But you may keep her two hours," cried he, "this morning—or as long as you will." And then he rode up to the Queen's carriage, and having spoken to her, returned again to Mrs. Delany, with a confirmation of the permission. They were going to Kew.

We made use of the licence, by driving to Mr. Bryant, at Cypenham.¹ We found him in his garden, encompassed with his numerous family of dogs. His fondness for these good animals is quite diverting: he makes them his chief companions, and speaks to them as if they were upon terms of equality with him. He says they regularly breakfast with him, and he then gives them his principal lesson how to behave themselves.

After all, where is the philosopher wise enough to be all-sufficient to himself? A man had better arrange himself with a family of human beings, after the common mode, at once.

It was extremely amusing to see his anxiety that his children should not disgrace themselves. My dear Susan is not more solicitous for her Fanny and Nordia. "Come, now, be good! Be good, my little fellows!—don't be troublesome! Don't jump up on Mrs. Delany! Miss Burney, I'm afraid they are in your way. Come, my little fellows, keep back!—pray do. There!—there's good dogs!—keep back!"

And then, when they persevered in surrounding

¹ See *ante*, p. 4.

Mrs. Delany—too kind and too easy to mind them—he addressed them quite with pathos: “My sweet dogs!—oh, my sweet dogs!—don’t!—don’t!—my sweet dogs!”

Well!—we are all born to have some recreation, and I should certainly do the same, had I nothing else alive about me.

We returned in very good time, and I was just dressed as Dr. Beattie arrived. I had taken all proper measures, and therefore received him very comfortably.

He was very cheerful and very charming. He seems made up of gentleness and benevolence, yet with a disposition to decent mirth, and an enjoyment of humour and sport, that give an animation to his mildness truly engaging. You would be surprised to find how soon you would forget that he is ugly and clumsy, for there is a sort of perfect good-will in his countenance and his smile, that is quite captivating.

I told him of my visit to Mr. Bryant and his dogs. He laughed very heartily, but outdid my account by another—of a gentleman who always partook a mess of hasty pudding with a favourite hound, which was the breakfast of both. “And when,” said he, “the dog happened to infringe on his share, he only gave him a knock on the nose, to set him right, and then ate quietly on with him!”

This introduced many other little *contes à rire*, which chiefly occupied the time he had to bestow upon me, or rather the time I had to solicit his stay, for he went not till that was over.

I longed to have spoken of his *Immutability of Truth*, which I truly think a glorious work, but I had not courage. I feared it might look like a return of compliment, which I could not bear. For, to be sure, I had it to return! I have heard nothing like what fell from him since under this

roof I came; and I will not refrain, as his good opinion was equally gratifying and surprising to me, telling you what he most dwelt upon. "What most," cried he, "has struck me, is all that concerns a species of distress the most common in life, yet most neglected in representation—that of people of high cultivation and elegance forced to associate with those of gross and inferior capacities and manners. 'Tis a most just and most feeling distress; yet you, as you have stated, have it *now*."

Whether he meant Evelina with the Branghtons, or Henrietta with her mother and Mr. Hobson, I know not. Will you say, *Why could not you ask?*

I saw no more of him, to my great regret. He left Windsor the next day.

July 18.—This morning I received the very alarming letters—very afflicting, rather, for the alarm was, thank God, passed—of my dear and most valued Mr. Locke's illness. How kindly had my generous Fredy spared me all anxiety but of retrospection, of what I might have shared!—but no, I can *share* nothing. I can but feel, and be felt for, apart!

July 19.—The election of a member for Windsor, who proved to be Lord Mornington,¹ determined His Majesty to spend the day at Kew with the Queen and all the Princesses. By appointment, therefore, the vacation was destined to Mr. Bryant, to whose house I accompanied my dearest Mrs. Delany. We found Mr. Turbulent waiting for us, with the good old gentleman, and an ample breakfast prepared for our reception.

The morning was very pleasant. Mr. Bryant was quite delighted with the visit, and did the honours with the utmost activity and spirit, regaling us at once with his excellent anecdotes and excellent

¹ Richard Colley Wellesley, afterwards Marquis Wellesley, 1760-1842, —brother of the Duke of Wellington, and later Governor-General of India.

brown bread, etc. He gave me *carte blanche* to choose and to take whichever of his books I pleased, and put his keys into my hand, that I might examine his store, and send for whatever I wished, at any time that I desired. I accepted his liberal offer with great thanks; but, unhappily, his books are very few of them such as I could covet. They are chiefly very antique and voluminous accounts of voyages and travels, books of science, or authors in the dead languages.

He took us all over his house, which has books in every part. He begged me to follow him, when in his own room, to a small neat case, which he desired me to examine. I complied very readily, but you may believe my surprise when I there saw, very elegantly bound, *Cecilia* and *Evelina*!

He laughed very heartily at my start; how, indeed, could I suspect such a compliment from this good old Grecian? *Cecilia* and *Evelina* were not written before the Deluge!¹

He then lent me some curious old newspapers, printed just before the Revolution; with various tracts upon that æra, not very interesting to me.

We stayed very late, and returned well pleased with our expedition. Mr. Bryant was eager in displaying his collection to Mrs. Delany, who accepts every attention not as a due, but a favour, and who excuses every omission with an indulgence that seems to put pardon out of the question.

In the afternoon, while I was working in Mrs. Schwellenberg's room, Mr. Turbulent entered, to summon Miss Planta to the Princesses; and, in the little while of executing that simple commission, he made such use of his very ungovernable and extraordinary eyes, that the moment he was gone, Mrs. Schwellenberg demanded *for what he looked so at me?*

¹ See *ante*, p. 115.

I desired to know what she meant.

"Why, like when he was so *cordial* with you? Been you acquainted?"

"Oh yes!" cried I, "I spent three hours twice a-week upon the road with him and Miss Planta, all the winter; and three or four dinners and afternoons besides."

"Oh, that's nothing! that's no acquaintance at all. I have had people to me, to travel and to dine, fourteen and fifteen years, and yet they been never so cordial!"

This was too unanswerable for reply; but it determined me to try at some decided measure for restraining or changing looks and behaviour that excited such comments. And I thought my safest way would be fairly and frankly to tell him this very inquiry. It might put him upon his guard from such foolishness, without any more serious effort.

July 20.—This evening Mrs. Schwollenberg was not well, and sent to desire I would receive the gentlemen to tea, and make her apologies. I immediately summoned my lively and lovely young companion, Miss P——, who hastens at every call with good-humoured delight.

We had really a pleasant evening, though simply from the absence of spleen and jealousy, which seemed to renew and invigorate the spirits of all present: namely, General Budé, Signor del Campo, and Colonel Gwynn.

They all stayed very late; but when they made their exit, I dismissed my gay assistant, and thought it incumbent on me to show myself upstairs. But what a reception was awaiting me!—so grim! O Heaven! how depressing, how cruel, to be fastened thus on an associate so *exigeante*, so tyrannical, and so ill-disposed!

I feared to blame the equerries for having

detained me, as they were all already so much out of favour. I only, therefore, mentioned M. del Campo, who, as a Foreign Minister, might be allowed so much civility as not to be left to himself: for I was openly reproached that I had not quitted them to hasten to her! Nothing, however, availed; and after vainly trying to appease her, I was obliged to go to my own room, to be in attendance for my royal summons.

July 21.—I resolved to be very meek and patient, as I do, now and then, when I am good, and to bear this hard trial of causeless offence without resentment; and therefore I went this afternoon as soon as I had dined, and sat and worked, and forced conversation, and did my best, but with very indifferent success; when, most perversely, who should be again announced but Mr. Turbulent.

As I believe the visit was not, just after those "*cordial*" looks, supposed to be solely for the lady of the apartment, his reception was no better than mine had been the preceding days. He did not, however, regard it, but began a talk, in which he made it his business to involve me, by perpetual reference to my opinion. This did not much conciliate matters; and his rebuffs, from time to time, were so little ceremonious, that nothing but the most confirmed contempt could have kept off an angry resentment. I could sometimes scarcely help laughing at his utterly careless returns to an imperious haughtiness, vainly meant to abash and distance him.

I took the earliest moment in my power to quit the room; and the reproach with which he looked at my exit, for leaving him to such a *tête-à-tête*, was quite risible. He knew he could not, in decency, run away immediately, and he seemed ready to commit some desperate act for having

drawn himself into such a difficulty. I am always rejoiced when his flights and follies bring their own punishment.

In my own room I found my beloved Mrs. Delany, but I had only the contrast of her sweet looks, not of her society, as the Princess Amelia fetched her away almost immediately.

Miss P—— remained; and Madame de la Fite joined us; and, not long after, Mr. Turbulent. He was in a humour that nothing could daunt; he began the warmest reproaches that I had left the room, and for my little notice of him while in it. I could not make a serious lecture, such as I wished, and such as he wanted, in the presence of these two ladies, though he endeavoured to make me speak to him apart, heedless of their observation. I gave him, however, to understand, that he was upon the brink of making himself an enemy of the most dangerous sort, if he did not pay a little more attention where his attentions were more expected, “And a little less,” I added, with a laugh, “where they are not expected.”

“All that,” cried he, scornfully, “all danger and all consequences are indifferent to me. I despise them from my soul! Nor do I care how steep or how deep the precipice from which I may fall, if I could but draw you down with me from its summit!”

I made him a very low curtsy, and begged to be excused so sublime an obligation. I could only laugh, though internally I own I almost shuddered, but it was only for a moment. I soon saw him merely ridiculous and burlesque: indeed, could I have taken such a speech seriously, I must have considered him as a savage.

A summons to tea parted us. He went his way, as I did not invite him to stay, and we adjourned to the eating-parlour.

July 22.—A very painful transaction, which had employed my mornings for a little while past, was very painfully concluded to-day. A captain, of the name of Pike, an officer severely and unjustly injured in the American war, represented to me with so much distress his situation, that I could not hesitate a moment in laying it before Her Majesty, to be submitted to the King. She most graciously accorded her consent: but on stating the particulars, she found it was a case in which prerogative had no power; and, in short, though with infinite lenity towards the efforts I had presumed to make, at sundry times, for distressed petitioners, I was finally given to understand that I had better never undertake such commissions, but make it known, by every opportunity, that I must no longer venture to step out of my department, as it only belonged to the Lord Chamberlain to present any petitions.

I was very sorry, and I have since been far more so, by the many disappointments I have unavoidably given; for I must not dare disobey an injunction so general and so positive.

So great was the poor man's distress, that I did not dare send him this ill news in a common manner: I employed Mr. Gray, a kind of surveyor and carpenter, and head mechanic for all sort of things in the household, to go to him, and carry a note from me, in answer to sundry urgent letters, in which I tried what I could to soften the disappointment, and to give him some counsel, such as I could, about two daughters, who were very ingenious, and copied from nature landscapes in needle-work.

In the end, the poor man determined to go with these industrious poor things to Bath, there to set their talents to advantage, and sell their works. And such was his indigence, that the poor

mites of this Mr. Gray and myself were even treasures to him.

Mrs. Delany was not well. I made her two little visits: her eyes, she said, failed more and more; but with such resignation, such piety, she spoke of their threatened loss, that I know not which I felt most at heart, sorrow or admiration.

July 24.—This day we came to Kew.

While Miss Planta and I were waiting in the parlour for Mrs. Schwellenberg, Mr. Turbulent entered: involuntarily affrighted at the thought of his accompanying us, in his present flighty humour, and in the carriage with one whom it had already offended, I earnestly exclaimed, "Good Heaven, Mr. Turbulent, I hope you are not going with us?"

"Upon my word," answered he, "you are a most flattering lady! What compliments you pay me! You don't like I should travel with you in the summer,—you declared against it in the spring,—it was disagreeable to you in the winter,—and you are affected by it in the autumn!"—And off he went, half-angry.

July 25.—Mr. Turbulent amused himself this morning with giving me yet another panic. He was ordered to attend the Queen during her hair-dressing, as was Mr. de Luc. I remained in the room: the Queen conversed with us all three, as occasions arose, with the utmost complacency; but this person, instead of fixing there his sole attention, contrived, by standing behind her chair, and facing me, to address a language of signs to me the whole time, casting up his eyes, clasping his hands, and placing himself in various fine attitudes, and all with a humour so burlesque, that it was impossible to take it either ill or seriously.

Indeed, when I am on the very point of the most alarmed displeasure with him, he always falls upon some such ridiculous devices of affected homage, that I grow ashamed of my anger, and hurry it over, lest he should perceive it, and attribute it to a misunderstanding he might think ridiculous in his turn.

How much should I have been discountenanced had Her Majesty turned about and perceived him ! yet by no means so much disconcerted as by a similar *Cerberic* detection ; since the Queen, who, when in spirits, is gay and sportive herself, would be much farther removed from any hazard of mis-construction.

I saw him afterwards, just before dinner, alone. He began a vehement expostulation at my conduct in shunning him ; but I stopped him short in his career, by seriously assuring him I had something of moment for his attention.

Surprised and alarmed, he exclaimed, "Is it good or bad ?"

"I hope it may be good !" I answered, not to inflame his curiosity, as I could not now have time to go on.

"If," cried he, with great abatement of violence from an answer milder than he expected, "if it were bad, from such a channel——" but the entrance of Mr. de Luc spared me the rest of the compliment.

No opportunity of an explanation offering, I had not long stole to my room, for a little breathing, before he followed me, tapping at my door, but entering without waiting for any leave.

I did not much like his pursuit, but resolved to make the fullest use of the conference ; and just as he began his usual round of reproaches for my elopements and shynesses, I desired him to desist, and hear me. "Most willingly," he cried ; and then

I frankly told him he must not wonder I avoided him, while he conducted himself in a manner so unaccountable and singular.

He desired me to explain myself; looking quite aghast, and even turning pale, while he waited my answer.

I was now wholly at a loss how to analyse my charge. I could not, for shame, mention his peculiarities personal, while he seemed unconscious of them, and therefore I got into a most disagreeable embarrassment myself. All I could say, in a general way, he either did not or would not understand; and after a long perplexed half-remonstrance, scarce intelligible to myself, I rested my expostulation on what I least regarded, merely because it was what I could best dilate upon, namely, that he had excited strong suspicions in Mrs. Schwellenberg that he was ridiculing her, and that the continual reference of his eyes to mine must needs make her include me in his conspiracy, which gave me so much alarm, that I must always shun him till he behaved better. And then I told him the attack of his "*looking so cordial*."

Extremely relieved by this account, he recovered his colour and his spirits, and laughed violently at the charge, especially that part of it which belonged to the "*fourteen or fifteen years*."

"Well," cried he, "if that is all, I can make no reform: if I look cordial, it is only that I am so; and I will not try to disprove it."

I begged him to rest assured that, however ridiculous this might seem, I should most certainly keep out of his way with my utmost power, so long as he continued to give me so much of his notice when I could not escape him. But my only answer was a laughing prayer that she might next discover *I* looked cordial at *him*!

.

July 26.—We returned to Windsor the next day, and I had the joy to find my sweet Mrs. Delany delightfully well. Miss P—— having another engagement, she indulged me with a *tête-à-tête* visit, and we renewed our investigation, etc., of the *Memoirs*. How I wish my two sisters could see them! They so exactly show the sweet character that has drawn them up, and how unaffectedly and innocently she has ever been the same—in the prime and glow of youth, and in every danger and every distress.

The good King and his charming little daughter came, as usual, to rob me of my venerable Biographer in the evening.

July 29.—To-day the King and Queen and Royal Family went to Eton, to hear the speeches; and, as I was invited by Mrs. Roberts and the Provost, I had the curiosity to go also.

The speeches were chiefly in Greek and Latin, but concluded with three or four in English: some were pronounced extremely well, especially those spoken by the chief composers of the *Microcosm*, Canning and Smith.¹

I saw all my Windsor acquaintances—Claytons, Linds, Dr. Herschel, etc.; and when the speeches were over, I went to a great breakfast, prepared by Mrs. Roberts. There I met Lord and Lady Walsingham, and received civilities for answering notes they had sent me, to beg information whether they might appear, one in a hat, the other in a frock. Lady Rothes and Sir Lucas Pepys were also there, and we had much old talk.

¹ See *ante*, p. 122.

PART XXIX

1787

Arrival of the Duke of York from Holland—Delight of the Royal Family at his return—Windsor Terrace—General Grenville—The Duke of Montagu—The Prince of Wales at Windsor—A happy day—Colonel Hotham—Colonel Lake—General Fawcett—Mr. Bouverie—Lord Herbert—Lady Mexborough—The Bishop of Salisbury—Visit from the Duke of York—Princess Amelia—Wedding letters—Lady Mulgrave—Domestic pleasures of the Royal Family—Reunion—A visit from the Prince of Wales—The Princesse de Lamballe—Rapid travelling—Hopes and fears—Public reconciliation of the King and Prince of Wales—The Drawing-room—The Prince's birthday—A solitary dinner—An evening party—Duchess of Ancaster—A singular complaint—The celebrated Harry Bunbury—A caricaturist at Court—*Olla Podrida*—Visit from the Queen—Arrival and reception of Mrs. Siddons—Her manners, person, and conversation—Disappointment—Mrs. Siddons's desire to act Cecilia—Table-talk on plays and players—A scene—Madame de Genlis—A conversation on dreams—A ball at the Castle—Up all night—Ill-nature—Kew—St. James's—Remonstrance and reply—A difficult position—A sermon made *express*—Expostulation and reply—Dr. Herschel—Miss Herschel, the female astronomer—Rome and Versailles—Bunbury, the caricaturist—His manners and conversation—Mr. Locke as an artist—An enthusiast—Lady Templetown—A visit from the Prince of Wales—Memoirs of a noble Hindu—A pleasant change—A conversation with the Queen—Newspaper notoriety—A royal present from Naples—Fairings—A surprise—A breach of etiquette—The Prince of Wales—Newspaper reports and their consequences—Conversation with the Queen—Difficulties and explanations—Cruel treatment—Permission to rebel—How to bear and forbear—

Official tyranny—Lady Bute—Lady Louisa Stuart—A pleasant evening dearly purchased—New expedients to obtain peace—A change for the better—An Irish compensation—An enthusiast—Conclusion.

Thursday, August 2.—To-day, after a seven years' absence, arrived the Duke of York.¹ I saw him alight from his carriage, with an eagerness, a vivacity, that assured me of the affectionate joy with which he returned to his country and family. But the joy of his excellent father!—Oh, that there is no describing! It was the glee of the first youth—nay, of ardent and innocent infancy,—so pure it seemed, so warm, so open, so unmingled!

Softer joy was the Queen's—mild, equal, and touching; while all the Princesses were in one universal rapture.

It was a happy day throughout: no one could forbear the strongest hopes that the long-earned, long-due recompense of paternal kindness and goodness was now to be amply paid.

To have the pleasure of seeing the Royal Family in this happy assemblage, I accompanied Miss P—— on the Terrace. It was indeed an affecting sight to view the general content; but that of the King went to my very heart, so delighted he looked—so proud of his son—so benevolently pleased that every one should witness his satisfaction.

The Terrace was very full; all Windsor and its neighbourhood poured in upon it, to see the Prince, whose whole demeanour seemed promising to merit his flattering reception; gay, yet grateful—modest, yet unembarrassed.

I brought in only Miss P—— to tea; her sweet aunt then joined us, as did General Grenville,² who

¹ Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, 1763-1827. He had been "studying his profession" (of war) in Germany (see *post*, under August 1, 1788).

² ? Richard Grenville, nephew of the first Earl Temple, *d.* 1823.

had attended the Duke home, and who is chief of his establishment. The Duke of Montagu arrived soon after, to see his former pupil, and was greatly moved with pleasure.

The excellent King came into the tea-room for Mrs. Delany, who congratulated him, most respectfully apologising, at the same time, for venturing to come to the Lodge on such an occasion. "My dear Mrs. Delany," cried he, "if you could have stayed away on such a day as this, I should have thought it quite unkind!" And then he bid the Duke of Montagu hand her to the royal apartment.

Early the next morning arrived the Prince of Wales, who had travelled all night from Bright-helmstone. The day was a day of complete happiness to the whole of the Royal Family; the King was in one transport of delight, unceasing, invariable; and though the newly arrived Duke was its source and support, the kindness of his heart extended and expanded to his Eldest-Born, whom he seemed ready again to take to his paternal breast; indeed, the whole world seemed endeared to him by the happiness he now felt in it.

The tea circle was now enlarged with some of the Prince's gentlemen, and others who came to pay their duty to the Duke. Colonel Hotham, Colonel Lake, General Fawcet, Mr. Bouverie, Lord Herbert, and some others, were here for three evenings, and General Grenville during the whole stay of the Duke at Windsor, as well as General Budé.

Sunday, August 5.—The Prince of Wales returned to Brighton. I walked again upon the Terrace, with Miss Egerton, who had Lady Mexborough of her party.¹ The next day arrived my beloved Fredy's beautiful work-box for my little Princess.

¹ Elizabeth, wife of John, second Earl of Mexborough, 1761-1830.

To our already large party was now added the Bishop of Salisbury,¹ Major Price's uncle, who made me some such very kind speeches from Mrs. Kennicott,² then on a visit at his house, that I was soon satisfied, from my very slight acquaintance with her, he made her name a mere vehicle for his own civilities. For a Bishop, he is rather too courteous; I am much better pleased with Bishop Hurd, whose civility is all in manner, not words.

General Grenville brought in the Duke this evening to the tea-room. I was very much pleased with his behaviour, which was modest, dignified, and easy. Might he but escape the contagion of surrounding examples, he seems promising of all his fond father expects and merits.

August 7.—I followed my fair little Princess to the garden, with her *cadeau*, on this morn of her birth; but she could not then take it. I saw her afterwards with the Queen, and she immediately said, "Mamma, may Miss Burney fetch me my box?"

The Queen inquired what it was? and, hearing the explanation, gave immediate consent. I fetched it. The sweet Princess was extremely delighted, and her sweet Mother admired it almost equally. It was only too pretty for so young a possessor.

I had two wedding-letters this morning; one from Mr. Cambridge, with some account of his son Charles and his bride; and the other from a very sweet bride indeed, Lady Mulgrave;³ and a letter as sweet as herself—modest, kind, happy, and affectionate.

We then set off for Kew.

The good Mr. and Mrs. Smelt came to tea; and the Princess Elizabeth came to see them, and

¹ Dr. Shute Barrington (see vol. ii. p. 385).

² See *ante*, p. 122.

³ See *ante*, p. 267.

brought her work, and made us all sit with her for more than an hour.

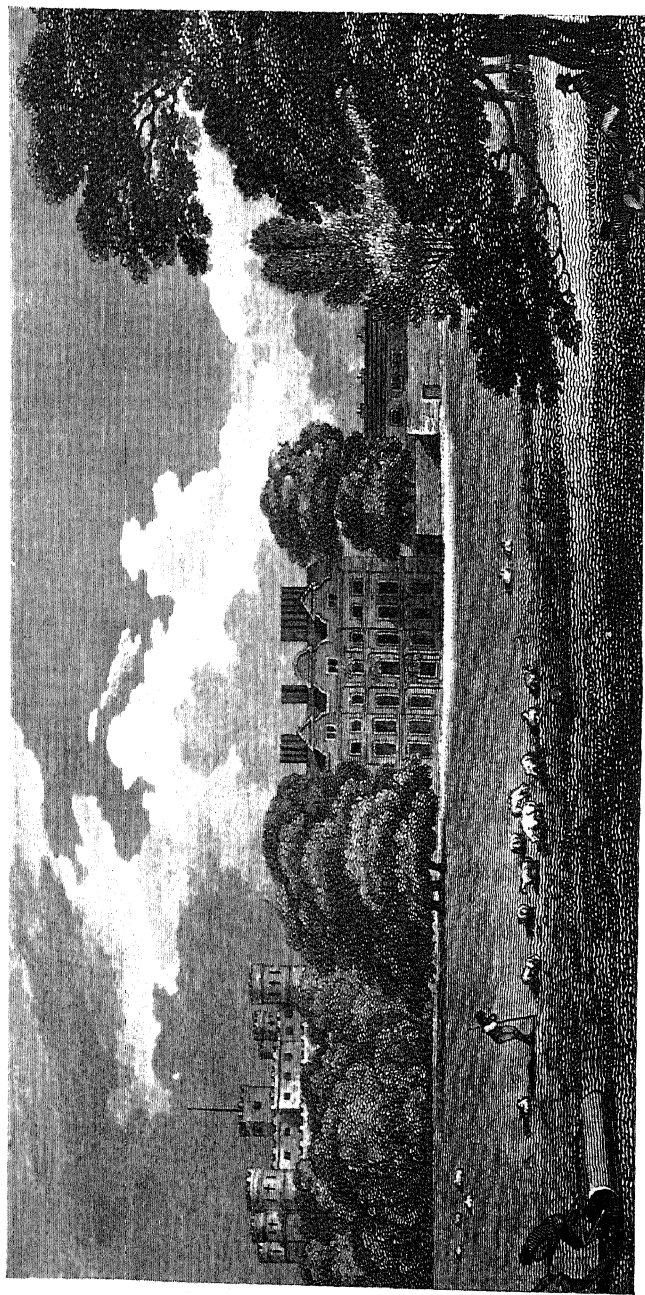
The King indulged the little Princess with driving her out in his garden-phaeton, which is a double carriage, and contained the Queen and the Princess Royal, Princess Augusta and Lady Caroline Waldegrave, Princess Amelia, and one more.

The next day the now happy family had the delight of again seeing the two Princes in its circle. They dined here; and the Princess Augusta, who came to Mrs. Schwellenberg's room in the evening, on a message, said, "There never had been so happy a dinner since the world was created."

The King, in the evening, again drove out the Queen and Princesses. The Prince of Wales, seeing Mr. Smelt in our room (which, at Kew, is in the front of the house, as well as at Windsor), said he would come in and ask him how he did. Accordingly, in he came, and talked to Mr. Smelt for about a quarter of an hour; his subjects almost wholly his horses and his rides. He gave some account of his expedition to town to meet his brother. He was just preparing, at Brighton, to give a supper entertainment to Madame la Princesse de Lamballe,¹—when he perceived his courier. "I daresay," he cried, "my brother's come!" set off instantly to excuse himself to the Princesse, and arrived at Windsor by the time of early prayers, at eight o'clock the next morning.

"To-day, again," he said, "I resolved to be in town to meet my brother: we determined to dine somewhere together, but had not settled where; so

¹ Marie-Thérèse-Louise de Savoie-Carignan, Princesse de Lamballe, 1749-92. Her presence in England at this date is confirmed by a letter of Horace Walpole to the Earl of Strafford, July 28, 1787,—"The Duke of Queensberry has given a sumptuous dinner to the Princesse de Lamballe."



THE PRINCE OF WALES'S HOUSE AT KEW
(Wyatt's Palace, to the left, was pulled down in 1827)

hither we came. When I went last to Brighton, I rode one hundred and thirty miles, and then danced at the ball. I am going back directly; but I shall ride to Windsor again for the birthday, and shall stay there till my brother's, and then back on Friday. We are going now over the way: my brother wants to see the old mansion."

The Prince of Wales's house is exactly opposite to the Lodge.

The Duke then came in, and bowed to every one present, very attentively; and presently after, they went over the way, arm-in-arm; and thence returned to town.

I had a long and painful discourse afterwards with Mr. Smelt, deeply interested in these young Princes, upon the many dangers awaiting the newly-arrived, who seemed alike unfitted and unsuspecting for encountering them. Mr. Smelt's heart ached as if he had been their parent, and the regard springing from his early and long care of them seemed all revived in his hopes and fears of what might ensue from this reunion.

How I rejoiced at the public reconciliation with the Prince of Wales, which had taken place during my illness, and which gave the greater reason for hope that there might not now be a division!

Thursday, 9.—We went to town for the Drawing-room. It was unusually brilliant for the time of year, in compliment to the Duke of York. His Royal Highness came to the Queen's dressing-room before she attired; and the Duchess of Ancaster and Miss Goldsworthy were admitted, by the happy King, to have a sight of his restored darling. The Prince of Wales was also at Court.

In my own room I found my dearest father waiting for me, quite well, full of spirits, full of Handel, full of manuscripts, and full of proof-sheets.

The evening finished with the usual party in Mrs. Schwollenberg's room.

Des horreurs—des humeurs are still all in play ! I have no account to give of them, but those "cordial looks" of that mischievous Mr. Turbulent, who certainly has been observed to contrast them strikingly elsewhere. I sometimes think I must wholly break with that strange man, to avoid some actual mischief ; and surely, were such the alternative, I should not hesitate one little instant.

We returned to Windsor next day ; and all *les horreurs* were soothed by the sweet balmy kindness of my revered Mrs. Delany. What may not be endured where there is the solace of sympathy ? Everything, I think, save one—

Hard unkindness' alter'd eye.

I know of no endurance for that.

Sunday, 12.—This was the Prince's real birthday, though it was celebrated on the Monday.¹ Mrs. Schwollenberg was ill ; accumulated bile, I believe, disordered her : she could not come downstairs, and I dined quite alone, upon a most splendid dinner, fit for the mayor and corporation of a great trading city. I entreated the protecting presence of my dear old friend for the tea-table, which was crowded. The Duke of Montagu, Signor del Campo, Generals Grenville, Budé, Fawcet, and Colonels Hulse, Lake, Gwynn, and St. Leger.

Colonel Gwynn briefly presented the Prince's three Colonels, St. Leger, Hulse, and Lake, to me ; but the idea I had preconceived of them very much unfitted me for doing the honours, and I am sensible I acquitted myself very ill. Mrs. Delany, the Duke of Montagu, and Signor del Campo sat

¹ The Prince of Wales was born at St. James's Palace, August 12, 1762.

near me, and with those alone I could attempt any conversation.

To my great amaze, the celebrated Colonel St. Leger, with his friend Colonel Lake, sat wholly silent, with an air of shy distance that seemed to show them ill at ease. I had expected they would at least have amused themselves apart, which they always do when the right lady is *Présidente*; but I should not wonder to hear it explained by their *fearing they might be inserted in a book!* Here, however, it may be no bad thing to be little enough known for so unjust a suspicion.

Monday, 13.—To-day the gala was kept. I had a visit from the eldest Miss Anguish,¹ which I had promised to receive from her the day before, when I met her at the entrance of the cathedral. She is a good-natured girl, and so warm in her affections, that she seems made up of nothing else. The rest of the morning was consumed in four dressings,—two of my Queen's, two of her *Keeper of the Robes*.

Tuesday, 14.—I had a long chatting visit from the Duchess of Ancaster, who lamented to me the early hours of this house for her daughter, Lady Charlotte Bertie, with as much pathos as most parents would have exerted for the late hours of every other.

Mrs. Delany was early carried off this evening by the King, but Miss P—— remained with me, Mrs. Schwellenberg being still too unwell for the tea-table.

There we went at the usual time, and General Budé came in, with two strangers, whom he introduced to us by the names of Bunbury and Crawford.

¹ Catherine, afterwards (1788) second Lady Carmarthen. Her father, Thomas Anguish, was accountant-general of the Court of Chancery. See *post*, under November 6, 1788.

I was very curious to know if this was *the* Bunbury;¹ and I conjectured it could be no other. When Colonel Gwynn joined us, he proposed anew the introduction; but nothing passed to ascertain my surmise. The conversation was general and good-humoured, but without anything striking, or bespeaking character or genius. Almost the whole consisted of inquiries what to do, whither to go, and how to proceed; which, though natural and sensible for a new man, were undistinguished by any humour, or keenness of expression or manner.

Mr. Crawford spoke not a word. He is a very handsome young man, just appointed Equerry to the Duke of York.

I whispered my inquiry to Colonel Gwynn as soon as I found an opportunity, and heard "Yes, 'tis Harry Bunbury, sure enough!"

So now we may all be caricatured at his leisure! He is made another of the Equerries to the Duke. A man with such a turn, and with talents so inimitable in displaying it, was a rather dangerous character to be brought within a Court!

Late at night Mrs. Delany was handed back to us by Colonel Goldsworthy, who began a most unreserved lamentation of being detained all the evening in the Royal apartments—"Because," cried he, "I heard Mrs. What-do-you-call-her was ill, and could not be here; and I was so glad—sorry, I mean! Well, it would come out! there's no help for it!"

Then he told us his great distress on account of a commission he had received to order some millinery goods to be sent by his sister from town,—"So I knew I could not remember one word

¹ Henry William Bunbury, 1750-1811, artist and caricaturist. He had married, in 1771, Mrs. Gwyn's sister, Catherine Horneck. See *post*, pp. 306 and 316, and under March 1788.

about it,—garlands, and gauzes, and ribbons,—so I writ to my sister, and just said, ‘Pray, sister, please to send down a whole milliner’s shop, and the milliners with it, for directions, because the Queen wants something.’ And so she did it,—and to-night the Queen told me the things came quite right !”

And then, when obliged to return to the Royals, he exclaimed, in decamping, “Well—to-morrow I will not be so seized ! I am so glad—*sorry*, I mean !—for this illness !”

Wednesday, 15.—I shall now have an adventure to relate that will much—and not disagreeably—surprise both my dear readers.

Mrs. Schwollenberg’s illness occasioned my attending the Queen alone ; and when my official business was ended, she graciously detained me, to read to me a new paper, called *Olla Podrida*,¹ which is now publishing periodically. Nothing very bright—nothing very deficient.

In the afternoon, while I was drinking coffee with Mrs. Schwollenberg,—or, rather, looking at it, since I rarely swallow any,—Her Majesty came into the room, and soon after a little German discourse with Mrs. Schwollenberg told me Mrs. Siddons had been ordered to the Lodge, to read a play, and desired I would receive her in my room.

I felt a little queer in the office ; I had only seen her twice or thrice, in large assemblies, at Miss Monckton’s, and at Sir Joshua Reynolds’s, and never had been introduced to her, nor spoken with her. However, in this dead and tame life I now lead, such an interview was by no means undesirable.

I had just got to the bottom of the stairs, when

¹ *Olla Podrida* originated with Thomas Monro, B.A., of Magdalen College, Oxford. It appeared between March 17, 1787, and January 12, 1788. Dr. Horne, the Bishop of Norwich, wrote in it an appreciation of Johnson.

she entered the passage gallery. I took her into the tea-room, and endeavoured to make amends for former distance and taciturnity, by an open and cheerful reception. I had heard from sundry people (in old days) that she wished to make the acquaintance; but I thought it, then, one of too conspicuous a sort for the quietness I had so much difficulty to preserve in my ever-increasing connections. Here all was changed; I received her by the Queen's commands, and was perfectly well inclined to reap some pleasure from the meeting.

But, now that we came so near, I was much disappointed in my expectations. I know not if my dear Fredy has met with her in private, but I fancy approximation is not highly in her favour. I found her the Heroine of a Tragedy,—sublime, elevated, and solemn. In face and person, truly noble and commanding; in manners, quiet and stiff; in voice, deep and dragging; and in conversation, formal, sententious, calm, and dry. I expected her to have been all that is interesting; the delicacy and sweetness with which she seizes every opportunity to strike and to captivate upon the stage had persuaded me that her mind was formed with that peculiar susceptibility which, in different modes, must give equal powers to attract and to delight in common life. But I was very much mistaken. As a stranger, I must have admired her noble appearance and beautiful countenance, and have regretted that nothing in her conversation kept pace with their promise; and, as a celebrated actress, I had still only to do the same.

Whether fame and success have spoiled her, or whether she only possesses the skill of representing and embellishing materials with which she is furnished by others, I know not; but still I remain disappointed.

She was scarcely seated, and a little general dis-

course begun, before she told me—all at once—that “There was no part she had ever so much wished to act as that of Cecilia.”

I made some little acknowledgment, and hurried to ask when she had seen Sir Joshua Reynolds, Miss Palmer, and others with whom I knew her acquainted.

The play she was to read was *The Provoked Husband*.¹ She appeared neither alarmed nor elated by her summons, but calmly to look upon it as a thing of course, from her celebrity.

She left me to go to Lady Harcourt, through whose interest she was brought hither. She was on a visit for a week at General Harcourt's, at St. Leonard's, where there seems to be, in general, constant and well-chosen society and amusement. I believe Mrs. Harcourt² to have very good taste in both; and, were she less girlish and flippant, I fancy she has parts quite equal to promote and add to, as well as to enjoy them. I am softened towards her, of late, by her consideration for Mrs. Gwynn, whom she has kindly invited to spend the widowhood of her husband's Equerryship at St. Leonard's, where he can frequently visit her.

Mrs. Siddons told me that both these ladies, Mrs. Harcourt and Mrs. Gwynn, had worked for her incessantly, to assist in fitting her out for appearing at the Queen's Lodge, as she had gone to St. Leonard's with only undress clothes.

I should very much have liked to have heard her read the play, but my dearest Mrs. Delany spent the whole evening with me, and I could therefore take no measures for finding out a convenient adjoining room. Mrs. Schwellenberg, I heard afterwards, was so accommodated, though not well enough for the tea-table, where I had the Duke of Montagu, Generals Grenville and Budé, Colonels

¹ By Vanbrugh and Cibber.

² See vol. ii. p. 449.

Goldsworthy and Gwynn, and Messrs. Crawford and Bunbury. Miss P——, of course.

My sole conversation this evening was with Mr. Bunbury, who drew a chair next mine, and chatted incessantly, with great good-humour, and an avidity to discuss the subjects he started, which were all concerning plays and players. Mrs. Siddons and Mrs. Jordan, Le Tessier¹ and Shakspeare,—these were fruitful themes, and descanted upon with great warmth and animation.

The Princess Amelia came, with Mrs. Cheveley, to order the attendance of the Duke of Montagu. General Grenville, a silent, reserved valetudinary, went under the same convoy; and General Budé, Colonel Gwynn, and Mr. Crawford, quickly followed.

Presently, the voice of the Duke of York was heard, calling aloud for Colonel Goldsworthy. Off he ran. Mr. Bunbury laughed, but declared he would not take the hint. “What,” cried he, “if I lose the beginning?—I think I know it pretty well by heart!—*Why did I marry?*”—And then he began to spout, and act, and rattle away, with all his might,—till the same voice called out “Bunbury!—you’ll be too late!”—And off he flew, leaving his tea untasted—so eager had he been in discourse.

Tuesday, 16.—The birthday of the Duke of York. A day, to me, of nothing but dress and fatigue,—but I rejoiced in the joy it gave to the good King and family.

Madame la Fite, in her visit of congratulation, told me she had received repeated inquiries after me from Madame de Genlis, who wondered I never wrote, as she had written to me while in England. Acquainted already with the opinion of my Royal Mistress, which, having myself requested, I must regard as a law, I evaded the discussion as much as

¹ See vol. ii. p. 218.

was in my power, and besought her to draw up some civil apology; but she was unremitting in her entreaties and exhortations; and, as I did not dare trust her with what had passed between Her Majesty and myself on the subject, she seemed, here, to have the right on her side so strongly, that I had no means to silence her, and know not, indeed, how I may.

Madame de Genlis has wished to make me a present of her new publication on Religion,¹ but desires me to ask it. That, now, is impossible: but I am truly vexed to appear so utterly insensible to a woman of such rare merit and captivating sweetness; and, as I do not, cannot, believe the tales propagated to her dishonour, I am grieved to return her kindness with such a mortifying neglect. I have, however, no longer any choice left; where once I have applied to the Queen, I hold myself bound in duty and respect to observe her injunctions implicitly.

Mr. Smelt came with his compliments on the day, and made me happy by breakfasting with me.

We had a very long confabulation upon dreams. To me they are a subject I wish much to form some satisfactory notion about, as they leave me more bewildered than any other, and always appear to me big with powers to lead to deeper knowledge of the soul and its immortality than anything else that comes within our cognisance unaided by revelation. I have many strong ideas about them, that I should wish extremely to have elucidated by somebody equally wise and good. Such people are not everywhere to be found. I regret I never started the subject with Dr. Johnson. I hope yet to do it with Mr. Locke. With Mr. Smelt I have particular pleasure in opening upon such themes: I know not a more religious character. But how

¹ See *ante*, p. 262.

very, very few people are there that I do not run from, the moment a topic of that solemn sort is started! Poor Mr. Turbulent cannot yet pass over my rejecting so resolutely to hear or answer his opinions on these matters; but certainly, while I have feet to run or ears to stop, I shall never stand still nor listen to him upon such occasions.

At the Castle there was a ball. Mrs. Delany and Miss P—— spent the evening here, and all of us upstairs. I sat up all night, not having the heart to make Goter, and not daring to trust to a nap for myself. But the morning proved very fine, and I watched the opening dawn and rising sun, and enjoyed, with twinkling eyes, their blushing splendour.

How tired I felt the next day! but I was kindly told I must “Certainly like sitting up all night, or for what did I do it?—when the Queen came not home till near morning, I might have done what I liked; nobody might pity me, when I did such things, if I had been ill for my pains.”

I hastened, when able, to my beloved comforter, whose soothing sweetness softened the depression of hardness and injustice. Some rudeness, however, which even this angel met with from the same quarter, determined her not to come this evening to tea. I invited, therefore, Madame la Fite to assist me at tea: when I had a party of gentlemen, all, like myself, so fatigued with the *business* of the preceding day’s diversion, that our only conversation was in comfortably comparing notes of complaint.

In the evening Madame la Fite took my place at piquet upstairs, and I began Dr. Beattie’s *Evidence of the Christian Religion*,¹ and there found the composure I required.

¹ Published in 1786 in 2 vols., and perhaps the most popular of Beattie’s writings.

Sunday, 19.—I had a long morning visit from Lady Harcourt, who talked zealously of the present critical time for the King's happiness, in the turn yet remaining to be taken by the Duke of York.

My dear Mrs. Delany would stay away no longer, seeing me the only person punished by her merited resentment. She came, though Mrs. Schwellenberg was again downstairs; and behaved with a softness of dignity peculiar to herself.

Colonel Gwynn brought with him his beautiful wife to tea. We renewed our acquaintance as well as we could in such a presence, and I had, at least, some pleasure in it, since her beauty was pleasant to my eye, and could not be affected by its vicinage, save, indeed, by a contrast that doubled its lustre.

Tuesday, 21.—We came to Kew without Mr. de Luc, who has leave of absence, and is gone to enjoy it. At dinner we had Mr. and Mrs. Smelt, Miss Planta, and Mr. Turbulent. He appeared very lofty, and highly affronted. I seemed not to notice any change, and behaved as usual.

Thursday, 23.—Miss Planta accompanied me to St. James's. In the way, she almost remonstrated with me upon giving such vexation to Mr. Turbulent, who spoke of my silence and distance, as if possessed, she said, with no other idea.

I was very sorry for this, every way. He had told me, indeed, that I knew not how he was surprised by my behaviour; but I had heard it like the rest of his rattles. I could give her no satisfaction, though I saw her curiosity all awake. But the point was too delicate for a hint of serious disapprobation. I merely said I would amend, and grow more loquacious; and there it dropped.

At St. James's, I read in the newspapers a paragraph that touched me much for the very amiable Mr. Fairly: it was the death of his wife, which

happened on the Duke of York's birthday, the 16th.¹ Mr. Fairly has devoted his whole time, strength, thoughts, and cares, solely to nursing and attending her during a long and most painful illness which she sustained. They speak of her here as being amiable, but so cold and reserved, that she was little known, and by no means in equal favour with her husband, who stands, upon the whole, the highest in general esteem and regard of any individual of the household. I find every mouth open to praise and pity, love and honour him.

Upon returning to Kew, I had a scene for which I was little enough, indeed, prepared, though willing, and indeed, earnest to satisfy Mr. Turbulent I wished him to make an alteration of behaviour. After hastily changing my dress, I went, as usual, to the parlour, to be ready for dinner; but found there no Mrs. Schwellenberg; she was again unwell; Miss Planta was not ready, and Mr. Turbulent was reading by himself.

Away he flung his book in a moment, and hastening to shut the door lest I should retreat, he rather charged than desired me to explain my late "chilling demeanour."

Almost startled by his apparent entire ignorance of deserving it, I found an awkwardness I had not foreseen in making myself understood. I wished him rather to feel, than be told, the improprieties I meant to obviate; and I did what was possible, by half-evasive, half-expressive answers, to call back his own recollection and consciousness. In vain, however, was the attempt; he protested himself wholly innocent, and that he would rather make an end of his existence than give me offence.

He saw not these very protestations were again doing it, and he grew so vehement in his defence,

¹ See *ante*, p. 308.

and so reproachful in his accusation of unjust usage, that I was soon totally in a perplexity how to extricate myself from a difficulty I had regarded simply as his own. But what could I do where nothing less than a plain charge would be heard? I could not say, "Sir, you are too assiduous—too flattering—too importunate—and too bold"; yet less seemed to accuse him of nothing.

The moment he saw I grew embarrassed, he redoubled his challenges to know the cause of my "ill-treatment." I assured him, then, I could never reckon silence ill-treatment.

"Yes," he cried, "yes, from you it is ill-treatment, and it has given me the most serious uneasiness."

"I am sorry," I said, "for that, and did not mean it."

"Not mean it?" cried he. "Could you imagine I should miss your conversation, your ease, your pleasantness, your gaiety, and take no notice of the loss?"

Then followed a most violent flow of compliments, ending with assuring me my distance made him incapable of all business, "from thinking of its injustice"; and with a fresh demand for an explanation, made with an energy that, to own the truth, once more quite frightened me. I endeavoured to appease him, by general promises of becoming more voluble: and I quite languished to say to him the truth at once; that his sport, his spirit and his society would all be acceptable to me, would he but divest them of that redundancy of gallantry which rendered them offensive: but I could only think how to say this—I could not bring it out; his attestations of innocence made it seem shocking to me to have to censure him, and I felt it a sort of degradation of myself to point out an impropriety that seemed quite out of his own ideas.

This promised volubility, though it softened him, he seemed to receive as a sort of acknowledgment that I owed him some reparation for the disturbance I had caused him. I stared enough at such an interpretation, which I could by no means allow ; but no sooner did I disclaim it than all his violence was resumed, and he urged me to give in my charge against him, with an impetuosity that almost made me tremble. I would fain have made my escape from him, and my eyes were continually directed towards the door ; but he stood immediately before me, and I saw in his face and manner something so determined, that I was sure any effort to depart would occasion a forced detention.

I made as little answer as possible, finding everything I said seemed but the more to inflame his violent spirit ; but his emotion was such, and the cause so inadequate, and my uncertainty so unpleasant what to think of him altogether, that I was seized with sensations so nervous I could almost have cried. When I thought him going too far in his solicitude and protestations, I looked away from him with horror ; when I felt satisfied by his disclaiming assertions, I became ashamed of such an idea. In the full torrent of his offended justification against my displeasure towards him, he perceived my increasing distress how to proceed, and, suddenly stopping, exclaimed in quite another tone, “ Now, then, ma’am, I see your justice returning ; you feel that you have used me very ill ! ”

This recovered me in a moment : my concern all flew away, from a misconstruction so forced and so confident ; and I positively assured him I would neither hear nor speak another word upon the subject, to one who would neither say nor understand anything but what he pleased.

“ But you will tell me,” he cried, “ another time ? ”

And then, to my great relief, entered Miss Planta.

He contrived to say again, "Remember, you promise to explain all this."

I made him no sort of answer, and though he frequently, in the course of the evening, repeated, "*I depend upon your promise! I build upon a conference,*" I sent his dependence and his building to Coventry, by not seeming to hear him.

I determined, however, to avoid all *tête-à-têtes* with him whatsoever, as much as was in my power. How very few people are fit for them, nobody living in trios and quartettos can imagine!

Though frequently enough more interested, I have seldom been more deeply perplexed, than how to manage with this very eccentric character. Seriously ill of him I cannot, and, indeed, I do not think: if I did, all difficulty would subside, however unpleasantly; for the abhorrence with which I should be filled would remove from me all hesitation and fear. But as I do really believe him innocent of all evil intention, and actuated only by an impetuous nature, that seeks confusion and difficulty for its food and amusement, without considering their danger or weighing their impropriety, I find myself extremely at a loss how to point out to him my dislike of his actual proceedings, without appearing to harbour doubts which he might cast, to my infinite dismay, upon myself.

To resume, therefore, a general behaviour such as was customary with me, and to keep out of his way, was all I could settle. Yet so much was I disturbed by what had passed, and so impossible did I feel it to be understood by my Susanna and Fredy without their seeing the very particulars now before them, that, upon returning the next day to Windsor, I opened the whole business, in a private conference, to my dear Mrs. Delany: she approved my plan, and was of opinion, with myself,

that there was no evil in the mind, though there was a world of deficiencies, errors, and faults in the character.

At Windsor, we found Colonel Gwynn, General Budé, and Mr. Bunbury, with whom I made no further acquaintance, as I was no longer Lady of the Manor. All the household has agreed to fear him, except Mrs. Schwollenberg, who is happy that he cannot caricature her, because, she says, she has no *Hump*.

Who should find me out now but Dr. Shepherd.¹ He is here as canon, and was in residence. He told me he had long wished to come, but had never been able to find the way of entrance before. He made me an immense length of visit, and related to me all the exploits of his life,—so far as they were prosperous. In no farce did a man ever more floridly open upon his own perfections. He assured me I should be delighted to know the whole of his life; it was equal to anything; and everything he had was got by his own address and ingenuity.

“I could tell the King,” cried he, “more than all the Chapter. I want to talk to him, but he always gets out of my way; he does not know me; he takes me for a mere common person, like the rest of the canons here, and thinks of me no more than if I were only fit for the cassock;—a mere Scotch priest! Bless ’em!—they know nothing about me. You have no conception what things I have done! And I want to tell ’em all this;—it’s fitter for them to hear than what comes to their ears. What I want is for somebody to tell them what I am.”

¹ Dr. Antony Shepherd, F.R.S., 1721-96, Canon of Windsor and Master of Mechanics to George III.

They know it already, thought I.

Then, when he had exhausted this general panegyric, he descended to some few particulars; especially dilating upon his preaching, and applying to me for attesting its excellence.

"I shall make one sermon every year, precisely for you!" he cried: "I think I know what will please you. That on the Creation last Sunday was just to your taste. You shall have such another next residence. I think I preach in the right tone—not too slow, like that poor wretch Grape, nor too fast, like Davis and the rest of 'em; but yet fast enough never to tire them. That's just my idea of good preaching."

Then he told me what excellent apartments he had here, and how much he should like my opinion in fitting them up. He begged to know if I could come to a concert, as he would give me such a one as would delight me. I told him it was quite impossible.

Then he said I might perhaps have more time in town; and there he had the finest instruments in the world. I assured him of his mistake.

My dear Mrs. Delany carried me with her again to Stoke, where what most pleased me was a houseful of sweet children, daughters and sons of Dr. and Lady Elizabeth Courtney,¹ and grandchildren of Lady Effingham.

The next day Lady Effingham came to Windsor, and, while I was present, said to the Queen, "Oh, ma'am, I had the greatest fright this morning!—I saw a huge something on Sir George's throat. Why, Sir George, says I, what's that?—a wen? 'Yes,' says he, 'Countess, I've had it these twenty

¹ Lady Effingham's eldest daughter (*d.* 1815) married Henry Reginald Courtenay, 1741-1803, afterwards Bishop of Exeter from 1797 to his death.

years.' However, I hear it's now going about ;—so I hope your Majesty will be careful."

I am sure I was not, for I laughed irresistibly !

And now I must finish this month with a scene that closed its 30th day.

Mrs. Schwellenberg invited Mr. Turbulent to dinner, for she said he had a large correspondence, and might amuse her. He came early ; and finding nobody in the eating-parlour, begged to wait in mine till Mrs. Schwellenberg came downstairs.

This was the last thing I wished ; but he required no answer, and instantly resumed the Kew discussion, entreating me to tell him what he had done.

I desired him to desist—in vain, he affirmed I had promised him an explanation, and he had therefore a right to it.

"And when," cried I, "did I make such a promise ?—never, I am sure !—nor ever shall !"

"You did promise me," cried he, "not, perhaps, in so many words ; but you hesitated : at one time you had some remorse for your conduct, and I fully understood you meant to promise me for another time."

"You fully mistook me, then ! " cried I ; "for I meant no such thing then ; I mean no such thing now ; and I never shall mean any such thing in future. Is this explicit ?"

He cast up his hands and eyes in reproachful and silent astonishment. But I thought I would try, for once, to be as peremptory as himself.

"Is it really possible," cried he, after this dumb show, "you can have such an obstinacy in your nature ?"

"I think it best," cried I, "to tell you so at once, that you may expect nothing more, but give over the subject, and talk of something else. *What is the news ?*"

"No, no, I will talk of nothing else!—it distracts me;—pray tell me!—I call upon your good-nature!"

"I have none—about this!"

"Upon your goodness of heart!"

"'Tis all hardness here!"

"I will cast myself at your feet,—I will kneel to you!"

And he was preparing his immense person for prostration, when Goter opened the door. Such an interruption to his heroics made me laugh heartily; nor could he help joining himself; though the moment she was gone he renewed his importunity with unabated earnestness.

"I remember," he cried, "it was upon the Terrace you first showed me this disdain; and there, too, you have shown it me repeatedly since, with public superciliousness."

Then, suddenly drawing up, with a very scornful look, he haughtily said, "Permit me to tell you, ma'am,—had it been anybody else,—permit me to tell you,—that had done just so,—*anybody* else!—they might have gone their own way, ever after, without a question—without a thought!—But you!—you do anything with me! You turn, twist, and wind me just as you like."

I inquired if he had seen Madame de Genlis' new book.¹

"No, no!" cried he impetuously;—"I call upon your justice, ma'am!—You well know you have treated me ill,—you know and have acknowledged it!"

"And when?" cried I, amazed and provoked: "when did I do what could never be done?"

"At Kew, ma'am, you were full of concern—full of remorse for the treatment you had given me!—and you owned it!"

¹ See *ante*, p. 262.

“Good Heaven, Mr. Turbulent, what can induce you to say this?”

“Is it not true?”

“Not a word of it! You know it is not!”

“Indeed,” cried he, “I really and truly thought so—hoped so;—I believed you looked as if you felt your own ill-usage,—and it gave to me a delight inexpressible!”

This was almost enough to bring back the very same “supercilious distance” of which he complained; but, in dread of fresh explanations, I forbore to notice this flight, and only told him he might be perfectly satisfied, since I no longer persevered in the taciturnity to which he objected.

“But how,” cried he, “do you give it up, without deigning to assign one reason for it?”

“The greater the compliment!” cried, I, laughing; “I give it up to your request.”

“Yes, ma’am, upon my speaking,—but why did you keep me so long in that painful suspense?”

“Nay,” cried I, “could I well be quicker? Till you spoke, could I know if you heeded it?”

“Ah, ma’am!—is there then no language but of words? Do you pretend to think there is no other?—Must I teach it you?—teach it to Miss Burney, who speaks, who understands it so well?—who is never silent, and never can be silent?”

And then came his heroic old homage to the poor eyebrows, vehemently finishing with, “Do you, can you affect to know no language but speech?”

“Not,” cried I, coolly, “without the trouble of more investigation than I had taken here.”

He called this “contempt,” and, exceedingly irritated, desired me, once more, to explain, from beginning to end, how he had ever offended me.

“Mr. Turbulent,” cried I, “will you be satisfied if I tell you it shall all blow over?”

"Make me a vow, then, you will never more, never while you live, resume that proud taciturnity."

"No, no,—certainly not ; I never make vows ; it is a rule with me to avoid them."

"Give me, then, your promise,—your solemn promise,—at least I may claim that ?"

"I have the same peculiarity about promises ; I never make them."

He was again beginning to storm, but again I assured him I would let the acquaintance take its old course, if he would but be appeased, and say no more ; and, after difficulties innumerable, he at length gave up the point : but to this he was hastened, if not driven, by a summons to dinner.

In leaving the room, to attend Mrs. Schwollenberg, he turned about at the door, and, with a comic expression of resentment against himself, he clenched his fist, and exclaimed, "This is without example ! I am actually going without the smallest satisfaction, though I came with the most fixed determination to obtain it !"

How strange and how wild a character ! I often wonder how he lives with his wife. How miserable would such a husband render me ! Yet I hear he is quite adored by her, and extremely kind to her.

I again acquainted my beloved old friend with all this affair ; and she counselled me to keep upon manifest good terms invariably, and to avoid complaints that led to scenes of such violence and impropriety.

September.—My memorandums of this month are so scanty, that I shall not give them in their regular dates.

To me the month must needs be sweet that brought to me friends dearest to my heart ; and here again let me thank them for the reviving week bestowed upon me from the 10th to the 17th.

On the evening they left me, my kind Mrs. Delany carried me to Dr. Herschel's. Madame la Fite said, afterwards, that, nothing remaining upon earth good enough to console me for *les Lockes* and Mrs. Phillips, I was fain to travel to the moon for comfort. I think it was very well said.

And, indeed, I really found myself much pleased with the little excursion. Dr. Herschel is a delightful man; so unassuming, with his great knowledge, so willing to dispense it to the ignorant, and so cheerful and easy in his general manners, that were he no genius it would be impossible not to remark him as a pleasing and sensible man.

I was equally pleased with his sister, whom I had wished to see very much, for her great celebrity in her brother's science. She is very little, very gentle, very modest, and very ingenuous; and her manners are those of a person unhackneyed and unawed by the world, yet desirous to meet and to return its smiles. I love not the philosophy that braves it. This brother and sister seem gratified with its favour, at the same time that their own pursuit is all-sufficient to them without it.

I inquired of Miss Herschel if she was still comet-hunting, or content now with the moon? The brother answered that he had the charge of the moon, but he left to his sister to sweep the heavens for comets.

Their manner of working together is most ingenious and curious. While he makes his observations without-doors, he has a method of communicating them to his sister so immediately, that she can instantly commit them to paper, with the precise moment in which they are made. By this means he loses not a minute, when there is anything particularly worth observing, by writing it down, but can still proceed, yet still have his accounts and calculations exact. The methods he

has contrived to facilitate this commerce I have not the terms to explain, though his simple manner of showing them made me fully, at the time, comprehend them.

The night, unfortunately, was dark, and I could not see the moon with the famous new telescope. I mean not the great telescope through which I had taken a walk,¹ for that is still incomplete, but another of uncommon powers. I saw Saturn, however, and his satellites, very distinctly, and their appearance was very beautiful.

Mrs. Delany made me the next morning accompany Miss P—— and Mr. Lightfoot to see models of Rome and Versailles. Rome gave me much satisfaction, representing so well what I have read and heard of so frequently, and showing very compactly and clearly the general view and face, place and distance, size and appearance, of all its great buildings; but I was not enchanted with Versailles: its lavish magnificence was too profuse for me.

I saw a great deal of Mr. Bunbury in the course of this month, as he was in waiting upon the Duke of York, who spent great part of it at Windsor, to the inexpressible delight of his almost idolising father. Mr. Bunbury did not open upon me with that mildness and urbanity that might lead me to forget the strokes of his pencil, and power of his caricature: he early avowed a general disposition to laugh at, censure or despise all around him. He began talking of everybody and everything about us, with the decisive freedom of a confirmed old intimacy.

“I am in disgrace here, already!” he cried, almost exultingly.

“In disgrace?” I repeated.

¹ See *ante*, p. 148.

“Yes,—for not riding out this morning!—I was asked—what could I have better to do?—Ha! ha!”

The next time that I saw him after your departure from Windsor, he talked a great deal of painting and painters, and then said, “The Draftsman¹ of whom I think the most highly of any in the world was in this room the other day, and I did not know it, and was not introduced to him!”

I immediately assured him I never did the honours of the room when its right mistress was in it, but that I would certainly have named them to each other had I known he desired it.

“Oh yes,” cried he, “of all things I wished to know him. He draws like the old masters. I have seen fragments in the style of many of the very best and first productions of the greatest artists of former times. He could deceive the most critical judge. I wish greatly for a sight of his works, and for the possession of one of them, to add to my collection, as I have something from almost everybody else; and a small sketch of his I should esteem a greater curiosity than all the rest put together.”

Moved by the justness of this praise, I fetched him the sweet little *cadeaus* so lately left me by Mr. William’s kindness. He was very much pleased, and perhaps thought I might bestow them. Oh no!—not one stroke of that pencil could I relinquish!

Another evening he gave us the history of his way of life at Brighthelmstone. He spoke highly of the Duke, but with much satire of all else, and that incautiously, and evidently with an innate defiance of consequences, from a consciousness of secret powers to overawe their hurting him.

Notwithstanding the general reverence I pay to extraordinary talents, which lead me to think it even a species of impertinence to dwell upon small failings in their rare possessors, Mr. Bunbury did

¹ Mr. William Locke, 1767-1847, son of Mr. Locke of Norbury Park.

not win my good-will. His serious manner is supercilious and haughty, and his easy conversation wants rectitude in its principles. For the rest, he is entertaining and gay, full of talk, sociable, willing to enjoy what is going forward, and ready to speak his opinion with perfect unreserve.

Plays and players seem his darling theme; he can rave about them from morning to night, and yet be ready to rave again when morning returns. He acts as he talks, spouts as he recollects, and seems to give his whole soul to dramatic feeling and expression. This is not, however, his only subject. Love and romance are equally dear to his discourse, though they cannot be introduced with equal frequency. Upon these topics he loses himself wholly—he runs into rhapsodies that discredit him at once as a father, a husband, and a moral man. He asserts that love is the first principle of life, and should take place of every other; holds all bonds and obligations as nugatory that would claim a preference; and advances such doctrines of exalted sensations in the tender passion as made me tremble while I heard them.

He adores *Werter*, and would scarce believe I had not read it—still less that I had begun it and left it off, from distaste at its evident tendency. I saw myself sink instantly in his estimation, though till this little avowal I had appeared to stand in it very honourably.

On the anniversary of the coronation I had a note from Lady Templetown, proposing my seeing her; and as fortunately it happened during my presidency, I made application to my Royal Mistress, and obtained the indulgence of seeing her, with Mrs. Delany, at the Lodge. She met Miss Finch, Madame la Fite, Signor del Campo, General Budé, Colonel Gwynn, and Dr. Shepherd,—who again

made me a visit, and not knowing of Mrs. Schwel-
lenberg's absence, and my public situation at tea-
time, was quite thunderstruck in being introduced
into such a roomful of folks, when he expected, as
he told me, that he should find me alone.

Lady Templetown must have mentioned to you
the King's coming in, and all that passed ; but she
did me one favour I can never sufficiently acknow-
ledge—she gave me a cutting of my dearest Mrs.
Delany, so exquisitely resembling her fine venerable
countenance, that to me it is invaluable, and will
continue so while I breathe.

One evening, while I was sitting with this dear
lady and her fair niece, when tea was over, and the
gentlemen all withdrawn, the door was opened, and
a star entered, that I perceived presently to be the
Prince of Wales. He was here to hunt with his
Royal Father and Brother. With great politeness
he made me his first bow, and then advancing to
Mrs. Delany, insisted, very considerably, on her
sitting still, though he stood himself for half an
hour—all the time he stayed.

He entered into discourse very good-humouredly,
and with much vivacity ; described to her his villa
at Brighthelmstone, told several anecdotes of
adventures there, and seemed desirous to entertain
both her and himself.

I have mentioned already to Mr. Locke read-
ing the *Memoirs of Eradut Khan*, a nobleman of
Hindustan, and how much entertainment I found
in them, from the curious customs and Oriental
style of reasoning and politics which they display ;
and the marks they carry of authenticity would
render them, I should think, very well worth
reading at Norbury.

Signor-del Campo was elevated from an Envoy,
or *some such thing*, in this month, to being Amba-

sador,¹ and his rapture at the honour was so open and so warm, that I don't know whether I laughed most with him or at him, for his honest avowal of unbounded ecstasy. He represented to us one night the whole ceremonial of delivering his credentials to the King in state, and made General Budé represent His Majesty, while he went through all the forms before him, stopping between each to explain what was due to his new dignity, and what honours and distinctions it exacted.

Let me not, however, fail to relate, in the records of this month, a certain notable fact. I became, in the latter part of it, so highly in favour with Mrs. Schwellenberg, that she threw aside all the harshness and rudeness with which she had treated me, and became civil even to kindness! I learned piquet to oblige her, and to lighten our long evenings; and though I was a player the most miserable, she declined all that were better—Miss Planta, Miss Mawr, Mlle. de Luc, Madame la Fite—and made them sit by, while she chose me for her partner.

This might be very flattering, but it occasioned confinement unremitting, as, during cards, I had hitherto taken a little breathing time in my own room. However, civility is worth something; and I am so soon disconcerted by its opposite, that I contented myself tolerably well with the purchase.

October.—My brief memorials of this month will all be comprised in a page or two, without dates. Mr. Fisher returned, *married*, to Windsor, and enabled to claim my previous promise of making acquaintance with his wife. She seems gentle and obliging.

My Royal Mistress was all condescension to me. She gave me Mrs. Trimmer's excellent book of the

¹ In the *Royal Kalendar* for 1787 he is described as Minister Plenipotentiary for Spain.

Economy of Charity; ¹ and whenever she did not go to the early prayers at the chapel, she almost regularly came to my room, and spent the time in gracious converse. She made me narrate to her the whole history of my knowledge of the ill-fated connection formed by Mrs. Thrale with Mr. Piozzi. It is ever a touching, trying subject to me; but I wondered more at her long forbearance of question than at the curiosity such a story might excite. I was glad, too, that since it must be told, it was related by one who could clear many falsehoods, and soften many truths; for dear must she always be to my memory at least.

The newspapers gave me some alarm and much vexation, in frequently mentioning me during this month, regretting my silence, and exalting what had preceded it. I always tremble throughout my whole frame at first glance of my name in these publications; and though hitherto I have met with nothing but panegyric—most inordinate too—I have never felt any praise recompense the pain of the sight of the name. One or two of these paragraphs the King read to Mrs. Delany, but no one has mentioned them to me,—which was at least some comfort.

The only thing that proved at all interesting to me in this month, was a very dangerous illness of Mrs. Turbulent. She had a putrid fever, and was attended by Sir George Baker, through the orders of the benevolent Queen. I do not at all know her; but her character of being sensible, amiable, and gentle, is universally established by all who are of her acquaintance, and during this illness there was a most general praise of her disposition, and lamentation for her suffering.

It was now that Mr. Turbulent appeared to me in his fairest light. His rattle, his flights, his spirit

¹ Published in 1786; revised 1801.

of gallantry, all were laid aside: depressed, tame, and profoundly thoughtful was his whole appearance; and when she grew worse he wrote to Miss Planta to beseech leave of absence from attending the Princesses, and declared that "*Si je la perds, je me regarderai comme le plus malheureux des hommes; il est juste que j'envisage de la sorte un événement qui décidera de tout pour moi*"; and adds something of how well she merits it from him. Indeed I hear from all that she has proved a most exemplary wife to him, in many and very trying difficulties of situation; and I do really believe she is mistress, in return, of all his serious affections and regard, though the extreme levity of his nature so frequently leads him to a species of behaviour that carries strong appearances of a mind disengaged from all the happier and juster ties of conjugal attachment. This illness may eventually prove most happy for him, by not only showing her worth to him, but bringing him round to a more proper sense of the decorum due to her, as well as to his profession.

The Queen received a very beautiful and curious present this month from the King of Naples, consisting of a most complete set of china, and a dessert, representing antique games; the figures white, and apparently from models of very extraordinary merit and beauty. The plates gave the curiosities of Herculaneum—every plate of the almost innumerable quantity containing a different representation. Combats of gladiators and of Amazons, chiefs victorious returning for their prizes, old victors instructing youthful candidates, cars, chariots, men and horses, all in battle and disorder, conquerors claiming crowns of laurel, and the vanquished writhing in the agonies of wounds and death—such were the subjects, and the execution in general was striking and masterly.

So here I stop—this calm month offering nothing more to relate: save, what you all know, that I wrote my little ballad, “Willy,” for Mr. William Locke, and that the writing it was my best amusement upon losing my dearest friend, because most congenial with the sad feelings of my mind on the separation, when “Void was the scene, blank, vacant, drear!” A tautology so expressive of the tautology of my life and feelings, that it was the first line written of my ballad, though afterwards inserted in the midst of it.

Thursday, November 1.—I received my beautiful fairings from my dearest Fredy, and a noble *giornale* from my Susanna. What sweet wealth to me!—such are the riches I covet; all meaner coin is thrown away upon me. It suits convenience, indeed, a little!—that I confess!

I carried up to Mrs. Schwellenberg the present sent her by my liberal Fredy. When I produced it, she motioned it away with her hand, and said, loftily, “For what?” “For civility, ma’am!” answered I, very coolly. Nevertheless, it was some time ere she could settle it with her notions to accept it.

No one else, however, proved quite so sublime.

Saturday, 3.—I carried to the Lower Lodge my little offerings for the Princess Sophia, who had been ill some time, and kept her birthday in bed. She received them very prettily, Miss Goldsworthy being so obliging as to usher me into her room. They were much admired by Princess Mary, and the Princess Amelia insisted on my making her a separate visit in another room, where we played together very sociably.

I also took the *Sventurata*¹ her fairing; and she poured forth bitter complaints to me against the Cerbera. I could but condole with her, and

¹ Mme. la Fite.

advise a little "dignity of absence" till better received.

Thursday, 8. — My kindest Fredy's screen arrived on the very moment of time for presentation to Princess Augusta, who received it with the utmost sweetness, and told me they had all been much diverted, lately, by Mrs. Harcourt, who, very innocently, had acquainted them there was a new fair kept at Leatherhead, where a Mr. and Mrs. Locke sent the most beautiful and elegant toys and ornaments that could be conceived.

The two Princes being here in honour of the day, their gentlemen were at the tea-table. Mr. Bunbury was amongst them, but of no more assistance than any other, save that he produced an hieroglyphic letter, and we were all employed to make it out; otherwise he had now already imbibed the general constraint, and ventured little more in *flash* than any other of the established trained party. One of his sons has lately been made Page of Honour to the Queen, which seems to be a tie on his discretion and his gratitude, that lessens that careless defiance with which he began his own career.

At near one o'clock in the morning, while the wardrobe-woman was pinning up the Queen's hair, there was a sudden rap-tap at the dressing-room door. Extremely surprised, I looked at the Queen, to see what should be done; she did not speak. I had never heard such a sound before, for at the Royal doors there is always a particular kind of scratch used, instead of tapping. I heard it, however, again,—and the Queen called out, "What is that?"

I was really startled, not conceiving who could take so strange a liberty as to come to the Queen's apartment without the announcing of a page; and no page, I was very sure, would make such a noise.

Again the sound was repeated, and more smartly. I grew quite alarmed, imagining some serious evil at hand—either regarding the King or some of the Princesses. The Queen, however, bid me open the door. I did—but what was my surprise to see there a large man, in an immense wrapping great-coat, buttoned up round his chin, so that he was almost hid between cape and hat!

I stood quite motionless for a moment—but he, as if also surprised, drew back; I felt quite sick with sudden terror—I really thought some ruffian had broke into the house, or a madman.

“Who is it?” cried the Queen.

“I do not know, ma’am,” I answered.

“Who is it?” she called aloud; and then, taking off his hat, entered the Prince of Wales!

The Queen laughed very much, so did I too, happy in this unexpected explanation.

He told her, eagerly, he merely came to inform her there were the most beautiful northern lights to be seen that could possibly be imagined, and begged her to come to the gallery windows.

Wednesday, 14.—We went to town for the Drawing-room, and I caught a most severe cold, by being obliged to have the glass down on my side, to suit Mrs. Schwellenberg, though the sharpest wind blew that ever attacked a poor phiz. However, these are the sort of *désagréments* I can always best bear; and for the rest, I have now pretty constant civility.

My dear father drank tea with me; but told me of a paragraph in the *World*, that gave me some uneasiness; to this effect:—“We hear that Miss Burney has resigned her place about the Queen, and is now promoted to attend the Princesses: an office far more suited to her character and abilities, which will now be called forth as they merit.”—Or to that purpose.

As the *World* is not taken in here, I flattered myself it would not be known; for I knew how little pleasure such a paragraph would give, and was very sorry for it.

The next day, at St. James's, Miss Planta desired to speak to me, before the Queen arrived. She acquainted me of the same "news," and said, "Everybody spoke of it"; and that the Queen might receive twenty letters of recommendation to my place before night. Still I could only be sorry. Another paragraph had now appeared, she told me, contradicting the first, and saying "The resignation of Miss Burney is premature; it only arose from an idea of the service the education of the Princesses might reap from her virtues and accomplishments."

I was really concerned; conscious how little gratified my Royal Mistress would be by the whole:—and, presently, Miss Planta came to me again, and told me that the Princesses had mentioned it! They never read any newspapers; but they had heard of it from the Duke of York.

I observed the Queen was most particularly gracious with me, softer, gentler, more complacent than ever; and, while dressing, she dismissed her wardrobe-woman, and, looking at me very steadfastly, said, "Miss Burney, do you ever read newspapers?"

"Sometimes," I answered, "but not often: however, I believe I know what your Majesty means!"

I could say no less; I was so sure of her meaning.

"Do you?" she cried.

"Yes, ma'am, and I have been very much hurt by it: that is, if your Majesty means anything relative to myself?"

"I do!" she answered, still looking at me with earnestness.

"My father, ma'am," cried I, "told me of it last night, with a good deal of indignation."

"I," cried she, "did not see it myself: you know how little I read the newspapers."

"Indeed," cried I, "as it was in a paper not taken in here, I hoped it would quite have escaped your Majesty."

"So it did: I only heard of it."

I looked a little curious, and she kindly explained herself.

"When the Duke of York came yesterday to dinner, he said almost immediately, 'Pray, ma'am, what has Miss Burney left you for?' 'Left me?' 'Yes, they say she's gone; pray what's the reason?' 'Gone?' 'Yes; it's at full length in all the newspapers: is not she gone?' 'Not that I know of.'"

"*All* the newspapers" was undoubtedly a little flourish of the Duke; but we jointly censured and lamented the unbridled liberty of the press, in thus inventing, contradicting, and bringing on and putting off, whatever they pleased.

I saw, however, she had really been staggered: she concluded, I fancy, that the paragraph arose from some latent cause, which might end in matter of fact; for she talked to me of Mrs. Dickenson, and of all that related to her retreat, and dwelt upon the subject with a sort of solicitude that seemed apprehensive—if I may here use such a word—of a similar action.

It appeared to me that she rather expected some further assurance on my part that no such view or intention had given rise to this pretended report; and, therefore, when I had next the honour of her conversation alone, I renewed the subject, and mentioned that my father had had some thoughts of contradicting the paragraph himself.

"And has he done it?" cried she, quite eagerly.

"No, ma'am; for, upon further consideration, he feared it might only excite fresh paragraphs, and that the whole would sooner die, if neglected."

"So," said she, "I have been told; for, some years ago, there was a paragraph in the papers I wanted myself to have had contradicted; but they acquainted me it was best to be patient, and it would be forgot the sooner."

"This, however, ma'am, has been contradicted this morning."

"By your father?" cried she, again speaking eagerly.

"No, ma'am; I know not by whom."

She then asked how it was done. This was very distressing: but I was forced to repeat it as well as I could, reddening enough, though omitting, you may believe, the worst.

Just then there happened an interruption; which was vexatious, as it prevented a concluding speech, disclaiming all thoughts of resignation, which I saw was really now become necessary for the Queen's satisfaction; and since it was true—why not say it?

And, accordingly, the next day, when she was most excessively kind to me, I seized an opportunity, by attending her through the apartments to the breakfast-room, to beg permission to speak to her.

It was smilingly granted me.

"I have now, ma'am, read both the paragraphs."

"Well?" with a look of much curiosity.

"And indeed I thought them both very impertinent. They say that the idea arose from a notion of my being *promoted* to a place about the Princesses!"

"I have not seen either of the paragraphs," she

answered, "but the Prince of Wales told me of the second yesterday."

"They little know me, ma'am," I cried, "who think I should regard any other place as a *promotion* that removed me from your Majesty."

"I did not take it ill, I assure you," cried she, gently.

"Indeed, ma'am, I am far from having a *wish* for any such *promotion*—far from it! your Majesty does not bestow a smile upon me that does not secure and confirm my attachment."

One of her best smiles followed this, with a very condescending little bow, and the words, "You are very good," uttered in a most gentle voice; and she went on to her breakfast.

I am most glad this complete explanation passed. Indeed it is most true I would not willingly quit a place about the Queen for any place; and I was glad to mark that her smiles were to me the whole estimate of its value.

This little matter has proved, in the end, very gratifying to me, for it has made clear beyond all doubt her desire of retaining me, and a considerably increased degree of attention and complacency have most flatteringly shown a wish I should be retained by attachment. I can hardly tell you how sweet was her whole manner, nor how marked her condescension. Oh, were there no Mrs. Schwollenberg!

Friday, 27.—I had a terrible journey indeed to town, Mrs. Schwollenberg finding it expedient to have the glass down on my side, whence there blew in a sharp wind, which so painfully attacked my eyes that they were inflamed even before we arrived in town.

Mr. de Luc and Miss Planta both looked uneasy, but no one durst speak; and for me, it was among the evils that I can always best bear: yet

before the evening I grew so ill that I could not propose going to Chelsea, lest I should be utterly unfitted for Thursday's Drawing-room.

The next day, however, I received a consolation that has been some ease to my mind ever since. My dear father spent the evening with me, and was so incensed at the state of my eyes, which were now as piteous to behold as to feel, and at the relation of their usage, that he charged me, another time, to draw up my glass in defiance of all opposition, and to abide by all consequences, since my place was wholly immaterial when put in competition with my health.

I was truly glad of this permission to rebel, and it has given me an internal hardiness in all similar assaults, that has at least relieved my mind from the terror of giving mortal offence where most I owe implicit obedience, should provocation overpower my capacity of forbearance.

We wrote jointly to our good and dear Mr. Twining, though I was so blind that my pen went almost its own way, and for the rest of the evening my dear father read me papers, letters, manuscripts innumerable.

On the Thursday I was obliged to dress, just as if nothing was the matter.

The next day, when we assembled to return to Windsor, Mr. de Luc was in real consternation at sight of my eyes; and I saw an indignant glance at my coadjutrix, that could scarce content itself without being understood. Miss Planta ventured not at such a glance, but a whisper broke out, as we were descending the stairs, expressive of horror against the same poor person—*poor* person indeed—to exercise a power productive only of abhorrence, to those that view as well as to those that feel it!

Some business of Mrs. Schwellenberg's occasioned

a delay of the journey, and we all retreated back ; and when I returned to my room, Miller, the old head housemaid, came to me, with a little neat tin saucepan in her hand, saying, "Pray, ma'am, use this for your eyes ; 'tis milk and butter, *such as I used to make for Madame Hoggerdorn* when she travelled in the winter with Mrs. Schwollenberg."

Good Heaven ! I really shuddered when she added, that all that poor woman's misfortunes with her eyes, which, from inflammation after inflammation, grew nearly blind, were attributed by herself to these journeys, in which she was forced to have the glass down at her side in all weathers, and frequently the glasses behind her also !

Upon my word, this account of my predecessor was the least exhilarating intelligence I could receive ! Goter told me, afterwards, that all the servants in the house had remarked *I was going just the same way !*

Miss Planta presently ran into my room, to say she had hopes we should travel without this amiable being ; and she had left me but a moment when Mrs. Stainforth succeeded her, exclaiming, "Oh, for Heaven's sake, don't leave her behind ; for Heaven's sake, Miss Burney, take her with you !"

'Twas impossible not to laugh at these opposite interests, both, from agony of fear, breaking through all restraint.

Soon after, however, we all assembled again, and got into the coach. Mr. de Luc, who was my *vis-à-vis*, instantly pulled up the glass.

"Put down that glass !" was the immediate order.

He affected not to hear her, and began conversing.

She enraged quite tremendously, calling aloud to be obeyed without delay. He looked compassionately at me, and shrugged his shoulders, and said, "But, ma'am——"

"Do it, Mr. de Luc, when I tell you! I will have it! When you been too cold, you might bear it!"

"It is not for me, ma'am, but poor Miss Burney."

"Oh, poor Miss Burney might bear it the same! put it down, Mr. de Luc! without, I will get out! put it down, when I tell you! It is my coach! I will have it selfs! I might go alone in it, or with one, or with what you call nobody, when I please!"

Frightened for good Mr. de Luc, and the more for being much obliged to him, I now interfered, and begged him to let down the glass. Very reluctantly he replied, and I leant back in the coach, and held up my muff to my eyes.

What a journey ensued! To see that face when lighted up with fury is a sight for horror! I was glad to exclude it by my muff.

Miss Planta alone attempted to speak. I did not think it incumbent on me to "make the agreeable," thus used; I was therefore wholly dumb: for not a word, not an apology, not one expression of being sorry for what I suffered, was uttered. The most horrible ill-humour, violence, and rudeness, were all that were shown. Mr. de Luc was too much provoked to take his usual method of passing all off by constant talk; and as I had never seen him venture to appear provoked before, I felt a great obligation to his kindness.

When we were about half-way, we stopped to water the horses. He then again pulled up the glass, as if from absence. A voice of fury exclaimed, "Let it down! without I won't go!"

"I am sure," cried he, "all Mrs. de Luc's plants will be killed by this frost!"

For the frost was very severe indeed.

Then he proposed my changing places with Miss

Planta, who sat opposite Mrs. Schwellenberg, and consequently on the sheltered side. "Yes!" cried Mrs. Schwellenberg, "Miss Burney might sit there, and so she ought!"

I told her, briefly, I was always sick in riding backwards.

"Oh, ver well! when you don't like it, don't do it. You might bear it when you like it! what did the poor Haggerdorn bear it! when the blood was all running down from her eyes!"

This was too much! "I must take, then," I cried, "the more warning!"

After that I spoke not a word. I ruminated all the rest of the way upon my dear father's recent charge and permission. I was upon the point continually of availing myself of both, but, alas! I felt the deep disappointment I should give him, and I felt the most cruel repugnance to owe a resignation to a quarrel.

These reflections powerfully forbade the rebellion to which this unequalled arrogance and cruelty excited me; and after revolving them again and again, I — *accepted a bit of cake* which she suddenly offered me as we reached Windsor, and determined, since I submitted to my monastic destiny from motives my serious thoughts deemed right, I would not be prompted to oppose it from mere feelings of resentment to one, who, strictly, merited only contempt.

And from this time, my dear friends, I have shut out from my sight the prospect that such rumination was opening. I pray God I may persevere in crushing inferior motives—that I may strengthen such as are better. But 'tis best to build no castles in the air. They have so terrible an aptitude, light as they are, to shatter their poor constructors in their fall.

I would not have had my tender friends know

this conflict at the time ! Now that again my mind is made up to its fate, I feel sure of their ultimate approbation, when I tell them my ultimate opinion, which I must hope, also, to make my rule and practice in this, to me, momentous decision :—That, in total disregard to all that belongs to myself, I must cherish no thought of retreat, unless *called* hence, by willing kindness, to the paternal home, or *driven* hence, by weakness and illness, from the fatigues of my office.

I am glad I have written this : all better resolves have double chance with me, when I have communicated them to my Susanna and Fredy.

I gulped as well as I could at dinner ; but all civil fits are again over. Not a word was said to me : yet I was really very ill all the afternoon ; the cold had seized my elbows, from holding them up so long, and I was stiff and chilled all over.

In the evening, however, came my soothing Mrs. Delany. Sweet soul ! she folded me in her arms, and wept over my shoulder ! Mrs. Astley had been with me, and saw my condition ; and this beloved friend could not contain her grief. Yet how small a matter this to the whole ! But this was apparent ; and the whole, the tenour of my feelings, she knows not. I cannot abridge the sole satisfaction of my present life, which consists in the time it allows me to spend with this earthly angel—I cannot repay her kind joy in my situation, by painting, to her, its interior sadness.

Too angry to stand upon ceremony this evening, she told Mrs. Schwellenberg, after our public tea, she must retire to my room, that she might speak with me alone. This was highly resented, and I was threatened, afterwards, that she would come to tea no more, and we might talk our secrets always.

Mr. de Luc called upon me next morning, and openly avowed his indignation, protesting it was an

oppression he could not bear to see used, and reproving me for checking him when he would have run all risks. I thanked him most cordially; but assured him the worst of all inflammations to me was that of a quarrel, and I entreated him, therefore, not to interfere. But we have been cordial friends from that time forward.

Miss Planta also called, kindly bringing me some eye-water, and telling me she had "Never so longed to beat anybody in her life; and yet, I assure you," she added, "everybody remarks that she behaves, altogether, better to you than to anybody!"

O Heavens!

Mr. Turbulent spent almost all this month in attendance upon his deserving wife, who relapsed, but recovered; and his conduct was such as to give him a higher place in my good graces than he had ever yet secured himself. I saw him three or four times; all civility, but wholly without flights and raptures; tamed and composed, happy in the restoration of his wife, and cured of all wild absurdity. I conducted myself to him just as when we first grew acquainted—with openness, cheerfulness, and ease; appearing to forget all that had been wrong, and believing such an appearance the best means to make him forget it also.

Such was this month: in which, but for the sweet support of Mrs. Delany, I must almost wholly have sunk under the tyranny, whether opposed or endured, of my most extraordinary coadjutrix.

Saturday, December 1.—'Tis strange that two feelings so very opposite as love and resentment should have nearly equal power in inspiring courage *for or against* the object that excites them; yet so it is. In former times I have often, on various occasions, felt it raised to anything possible, by affection, and now I have found it mount to the boldest height, by disdain. For, be it known, such

gross and harsh usage I experienced in the end of last month, since the inflammation of the eyes, which I bore much more composedly than sundry personal indignities that followed, that I resolved upon a new mode of conduct—namely, to go out every evening, in order to show that I by no means considered myself as bound to stay at home after dinner, if treated very ill ; and this most courageous plan I flattered myself must needs either procure me a liberty of absence, always so much wished, or occasion a change of behaviour to more decency and endurance.

I had received for to-day an invitation to meet Lady Bute and Lady Louisa Stuart at my dearest Mrs. Delany's, and I should have wished it at all times, so much I like them both. I had no opportunity to speak first to my Royal Mistress, but I went to her at noon, rather more dressed than usual, and when I saw her look a little surprised, I explained my reason. She seemed very well satisfied with it, but my coadjutrix appeared in an astonishment unequalled ; and at dinner, when we necessarily met again, new testimonies of conduct quite without example were exhibited : for when Mrs. Thackeray and Miss Planta were helped, she helped herself, and appeared publicly to send me to Coventry—though the sole provocation was intending to forgo her society this evening !

I sat quiet and unhelped a few minutes, considering what to do : for so little was my appetite, I was almost tempted to go without dinner entirely. However, upon further reflection, I concluded it would but harden her heart still more to have this fresh affront so borne, and so related, as it must have been, through Windsor, and therefore I calmly begged some greens from Miss Planta.

Neither she nor Mrs. Thackeray had had courage to offer me anything, my "disgrace" being so obvious.

The weakness of my eyes, which still would not bear the light, prevented me from tasting animal food all this time.

A little ashamed, she then anticipated Miss Planta's assistance, by offering me some French beans. To curb my own displeasure, I obliged myself to accept them instead of the greens, and they tasted very well by that means, though they came through such hands.

Unfortunately, however, this little softening was presently worn out, by some speeches which it encouraged from Mrs. Thackeray, who seemed to seize the moment of permission to acknowledge that I was in the room, by telling me she had lately met some of my friends in town, among whom Mrs. Chapone; and the Burrows family had charged her with a thousand regrets for my seclusion from their society, and as many kind compliments and good wishes.

This again sent me to Coventry for the rest of the dinner. When it was over, and we were all going upstairs to coffee, I spoke to Columb,¹ in passing, to have a chair for me at seven o'clock.

"For what, then," cried a stern voice behind me, "for what go you upstairs at all, when you don't drink coffee?"

Did she imagine I should answer, "For your society, ma'am?" No—I turned back, quick as lightning, and only saying, "Very well, ma'am," moved towards my own room.

Again a little ashamed of herself, she added, rather more civilly, "For what should you have that trouble?"

I simply repeated my "Very well, ma'am," in a voice of, I believe, rather pique than calm acquiescence, and entered my own apartment, unable to

¹ Jacob Columb, who had apparently succeeded Frederic Ebers. He was a cousin of Walpole's Philip Columb (see *post*, under October 1790).

enjoy this little release, however speedy to obtain it, from the various, the grievous emotions of my mind, that this was the person, use me how she might, with whom I must chiefly pass my time!

So unpleasant were the sensations that filled me, that I could recover no gaiety, even at the house of my beloved friend, though received there by her dear self, her beautiful niece, and Lady Bute and Lady Louisa, in the most flattering manner. Yet I stayed till ten o'clock, though hitherto I had returned at nine. I was willing to make manifest that I did not make such sacrifice of my time equally to the extremest rudeness as to common civility; for more than common civility never, at best, repays it.

Lady Bute and Lady Louisa were both in such high spirits themselves that they kept up all the conversation between them, and with a vivacity, an acuteness, an archness, and an observation on men and manners so clear and sagacious, that it would be difficult to pass an evening of greater entertainment. They were just returning from Bath, and full fraught with anecdote and character, which they dealt out to their hearers with so much point and humour, that we attended to them like a gratified audience of a public place.

My reception at home was not quite similar; and I observed, even in my Royal Mistress, a degree of gravity that seemed not pleased. I conjectured that *my absence had been lamented*. How hard, if so, not to make known, in my turn, how my *presence* is accepted! However, I will not complain of her; I will only continue to absent myself, while she behaves thus intolerably.

Accordingly, the next evening, I went to Mrs. de Luc's, and there I had a little music. Miss Myers, a poor girl who has been rescued from much mischief and distress through the benevolence of

good Mrs. de Luc, played upon the violin, and in a very pleasing manner.

The *Présidente* was all amaze at this second visit ; but rather less imperious. All I regretted was my poor Miss P——, who had come to tea, and had no means to get away before me : I had therefore advised her to make a virtue of necessity, and to *faire l'agréable* in my absence. But the account she gave me, on my return, of the extreme haughty ill-breeding she had experienced sincerely concerned me for her. She assured me she would not change situations with me, to avoid any situation she ever could conceive ; and the good nature with which she lamented my destiny, from this little sample of what it is unassisted, has really endeared her to me very much.

The behaviour of my coadjutrix continued in the same strain—really shocking to endure. I always began, at our first meeting, some little small speech, and constantly received so harsh a rebuff at the second word, that I then regularly seated myself by a table, at work, and remained wholly silent the rest of the day.

I tried the experiment of making my escape ; but I was fairly conquered from pursuing it. The constant black reception depressed me out of powers to exert for flight ; and therefore I relinquished this plan, and only got off, as I could, to my own room, or remained dumb in hers.

To detail the circumstances of the tyranny and the *grossièreté* I experienced at this time would be afflicting to my beloved friends, and oppressive to myself. I am fain, however, to confess they vanquished me. I found the restoration of some degree of decency quite necessary to my quiet, since such open and horrible ill-will from one daily in my sight even affrighted me : it pursued me in shocking visions even when I avoided her presence ; and

therefore I was content to put upon myself the great and cruel force of seeking to conciliate a person who had no complaint against me, but that she had given me an inflammation of the eyes, which had been witnessed and resented by her favourite Mr. de Luc. I rather believe that latter circumstance was what incensed her so inveterately.

I know well, at a distance, you may think such conduct, in common with such a character, a mere subject for contempt, and be amazed at its effect : but were you here, and were you spending in one day a mere anticipation of every day—alas ! my dearest friends, you would find, as I find, peace must be purchased by any sacrifice that can obtain it.

Mine was, indeed, a severe one : I gave up either going to my beloved solace, or receiving her here, and offered my service to play at piquet.—At first, this was disdainfully refused, and but very proudly accepted afterwards. I had no way to compose my own spirit to an endurance of this, but by considering myself as *married to her*, and therefore that all rebellion could but end in disturbance, and that concession was my sole chance for peace ! Oh what reluctant nuptials !—how often did I say to myself—Were these chains voluntary, how could I bear them !—how forgive myself that I put them on !

The next extraordinary step she took was one that promised me amends for all : she told me that there was no occasion we should continue together after coffee, unless by her invitation. I eagerly exclaimed that this seemed a most feasible way of producing some variety in our intercourse, and that I would adopt it most readily. She wanted instantly to call back her words : she had expected I should be alarmed, and solicit her leave to be buried with her every evening ! When she saw me so eager in

acceptance, she looked mortified and disappointed ; but I would not suffer her to retract, and I began, at once, to retire to my room the moment coffee was over.

This flight of the sublime, which, being her own, she could not resent, brought all round : for as she saw me every evening prepare to depart with the coffee, she constantly began, at that period, some civil discourse to detain me. I always suffered it to succeed, while civil, and when there was a failure, or a pause, I retired.

By this means I recovered such portion of quiet as is compatible with a situation like mine : for she soon returned entirely to such behaviour as preceded the offence of my eyes ; and I obtained a little leisure at which she could not repine, as a caprice of her own bestowed it.

Meanwhile, however, the King's Gentlemen, General Budé and Colonel Goldsworthy, who now found only *la Présidente*,—for Mrs. Delany and Miss P—— came only to my room at this time,—were so wearied and provoked, that they merely drank off one dish of tea, and hastened back to the music-room. This gave great offence, and was even complained of to the higher powers : but they would not amend ; and Colonel Goldsworthy, who brought Mrs. Delany from the Queen into my apartment one night, begged leave to enter, for a little discourse with that lady and Miss P——, and then told us all that he was determined to show “Mrs. Hiccumbottom” what a mistake she made, in supposing they would any of them come to tea for the sake of a *tête-à-tête* with her. He therefore made it a rule to sleep all the few moments he stayed, and then shake his locks, and retire.

I then openly entreated that he would take no notice of my absence, as the present change of system afforded me a relief which, though short,

was inexpressibly great. He was very good-natured about it.

"I assure you, ma'am," he said, "Budé and I both agreed to do no mischief; for, though we are the sufferers, we think it but fair you should be the gainer."

We had all one social and pleasant evening, as the *Présidente* went to spend a day in town, and I returned to the honours, with *my* honour, Mrs. Delany; and good Mr. Lightfoot dined and spent the day with me. The Queen came into the room in the evening, to converse with him herself upon botanical matters, in which he has much assisted her.

To finish, however, with respect to the *Présidente*, I must now acquaint you that, as my eyes entirely grew well, her incivility entirely wore off, and I became a far greater favourite than I had ever presumed to think myself till that time! I was obliged to give up my short-lived privilege of retirement, and live on as before, making only my two precious little visits to my beloved comforter and supporter, and to devote the rest of my wearisome time to her presence—better satisfied, however, since I now saw that open war made me wretched, even when a victor, beyond what any subjection could do that had peace for its terms.

This was not an unuseful discovery, for it has abated all propensity to experiment in shaking off a yoke which, however hard to bear, is so annexed to my place, that I must take one with the other, and endure them as I can.

My favour, now, was beyond the favour of all others; I was "My good Miss Berner," at every other word, and no one else was listened to if I would speak, and no one else was accepted for a partner if I would play! I found no cause to which I could attribute this change. I believe the whole mere matter of caprice.

During all this time, and all this disturbance, the behaviour of my Royal Mistress was uniformly kind, gracious, confidential, and sweet. She bestowed upon me more and more trust, by every opportunity; and whenever I was alone with her, her whole countenance spoke benignity.

A most melancholy event happened in this month to a most tender mother, Lady Louisa Clayton,¹ who lost her only daughter, Miss Emily, by a death as unexpected as it seems premature. Everybody joined in lamenting her. She was good and amiable, and much and generally loved. Lady Louisa bears this heavy blow in a manner unequalled for steady fortitude.

I went, also, to condole with poor Madame la Fite, whose affliction was, I heard, very great, as Emily had been the first friend of her own poor Elise. I found her weeping, and much touched: but she described to me all her feelings with so many picturesque expressions, and poetical comparisons drawn between Emily Clayton and her Elise, and added so much of the cruel disappointment she had herself endured, in the midst of this affliction, that *sa chère* Mademoiselle Borni had not come to her house to meet Mrs. Roberts and Mrs. Kennicott—that, when I weighed the two sorrows together, I found my opinion of both all the lighter.

She was so good as to insist upon reading to me, next, an “account of Mademoiselle Borni” from a periodical paper of M. de la Blancherie;² where the *M. M. M.* is announced to all Paris as “a person whose most extraordinary literary talents had so captivated *Sa Majesté la Reine de la Grande Bretagne*, that she had appointed her *Surintendante* of all her wardrobe!”

¹ Sister of Lady Charlotte Finch (see vol. ii. p. 373).

² See *ante*, p. 276.

It really read so Irish a compensation, stated in that manner, that I could scarce hear it with gravity.

Poor Madame la Fite! her next visit to me was to request a lock of my hair for Madame de la Roche, who would "adore" that as she did its wearer.

I assured her I really must be excused; for, thinking so little as I think of Madame de la Roche, it would have been a species of falsehood to send such a gift.

Then she begged "anything"—a morsel of an old gown, the impression of a seal from a letter, two pins out of my dress—in short, anything; and with an urgency so vehement, I could not laugh it off; and, at last, I was obliged to let her have one of those poor pattern garlands that I made with plant impressions, under the eye and direction of my Fredy and Mr. Locke. I really was very unwilling to send anything; but she almost wept at my refusal, and appeared so much hurt that I was compelled to comply.

What, however, was truly comic, at the same time, was a certain imitative enthusiasm that was suddenly adopted by poor Mademoiselle de Luc—for as I happened to drop my needle, she eagerly insisted upon searching for it, and then exclaimed, "Oh! I have found it!—may I have it?"

"Certainly, if you like it," cried I, not comprehending her.

"Then I shall keep it for ever and never! it was worked by Miss Beurney!" And she put it up in her pocket-book, notwithstanding all my laughing remonstrances.

The wearing, lifeless uniformity, so long since threatened me by Mr. Turbulent, now completely took place, save alone for the relief of my beloved Mrs. Delany; but she softened and solaced all.

Two sweet visits a day unburthened my heart of every day's cares, and delighted my mind by soothing instruction ; while the warmth, the animation of her every welcome gave to my existence, even here, a value that at times made me even content to abide by it.

PART XXX

1788

The New Year—Character of Mrs. Delany—Graciousness of the Queen—Sir George and Lady Frances Howard—The infant Princess Amelia—Leave-taking—Mrs. Piozzi—Her publication of Dr. Johnson's *Letters*—The Drawing-room at St. James's—Family meeting—Mrs. Ord—A New Year's gift—Return to Windsor—The Bishop of Worcester—Mrs. Delany's *Memoirs* of herself—Colonel Welbred—Mrs. Schwellenberg and her pet frogs—Jacob Bryant—Anecdotes—The two highwaymen—Lords Baltimore and Plymouth—The old Mysteries—Origin of dramatic entertainments—Dr. Johnson's letters to Mrs. Thrale—Recollections and regrets—Mr. and Mrs. Locke—Old affections and associations—A misunderstanding—Explanations and vindications—A real friend—One fault—M. de Saussure—A long discussion—An evening with Mrs. Delany—A discussion on life and death—How to be happy—Sympathy and antipathy—Lord Chesterfield—Pleasant table-talk—A damper—A visit from the King—Mrs. Siddons and Mrs. Jordan—Visit from an old friend—The Queen's birthday—Lady Holder-nesse—Newspaper squibs—An evening party at Mrs. Cholmley's—Lord and Lady Mulgrave—An evening at Mrs. Ord's—Mrs. Garrick—The Streatham Correspondence—Sir Joshua Reynolds—Bishop Porteus—Mrs. Montagu—Mrs. Boscawen—Mrs. Carter—Mrs. Chapone—Horace Walpole—Letter of Mr. Twining to Miss Burney.

QUEEN'S LODGE, WINDSOR.

Tuesday, January 1.—I began the new year, as I ended the old one, by seizing the first moment it presented to my own disposal, for flying to Mrs. Delany, and begging her annual benediction. She

bestowed it with the sweetest affection, and I spent, as usual, all the time with her I had to spare. It seems always so short; yet we now meet almost regularly twice a day. Yet where there is a perfect confidence, there is so much to communicate, and so much to discuss, and compare opinions about, that the shortest absence supplies food for the longest meeting. And, indeed, without any materials of events, an intercourse the most smooth and uninterrupted with a mind so full, an imagination so fertile, and a memory so richly stored as Mrs. Delany's, would still seem brief, if broken only by that which will break all things.

I carried the Queen, in the morning, a key, I had at her command drawn up, of Swift's *History of John Bull*.¹ I found that work so filled, not only with politics (into which I have never entered), but with vulgarisms the most offensive, that I frankly told Her Majesty how far I felt myself from recommending it to her own perusal, or that of the Princess Royal. Her sweetness and graciousness draw out from me, almost at full length, everything I think upon such subjects as she starts; and this little illness of Mrs. Schwollenberg has procured me much time with her.

In passing the eating-parlour, as I returned to my room, I saw Sir George Howard and Lady Frances.² I went to them, and was just beginning a common chat, when suddenly the Queen appeared: she was cloaked, and soon after went into her carriage; and I found she made a new year's visit to my dear Mrs. Delany, whom she told "she had come to her without telling anybody"—"even Miss Burney"—as she would not let any fuss or preparation be made for her visit.

¹ This, frequently attributed to Swift, is now given to Arbuthnot. "Dr. Arbuthnot was the sole writer of *John Bull*" (Pope, in Singer's *Spence's Anecdotes*, 1820, p. 145).

² Lady Frances Howard (see vol. ii. p. 373).

My dear Mrs. Delany, to my great satisfaction, seized this fair opportunity to speak to Her Majesty of your F. B., and to express the grateful sense I felt of her goodness and condescension towards me. I was most happy to have this said from lips so venerable and so respected, as I have longed, lately, to make known to Her Majesty the zealous and gratified sentiments she has inspired. Her graciousness, indeed, of late, has augmented into the most perfect, the most flattering kindness; and very glad I was, yet not, I own, surprised, to hear that she looked very much pleased with Mrs. Delany's speech.

In the evening, by long appointment, I was to receive Mr. Fisher and his bride. Mrs. Schwollenberg, of own accord, desired me to have them in my room, and said she would herself make tea for the equerries in the eating-parlour. Mrs. Delany and Miss P—— came to meet them. Mrs. Fisher seems good-natured, cheerful, and obliging, neither well nor ill in her appearance, and, I fancy, not strongly marked in any way. But she adores Mr. Fisher, and has brought him a large fortune.

The Princess Amelia was brought by Mrs. Cheveley, to fetch Mrs. Delany to the Queen. Mrs. Fisher was much delighted in seeing her Royal Highness, who, when in a grave humour, does the honours of her rank with a seriousness extremely entertaining. She commands the company to sit down, holds out her little fat hand to be kissed, and makes a distant courtesy, with an air of complacency and encouragement that might suit any Princess of five times her age.

Late in the evening I had a leave-taking visit from General Budé, who brought back Mrs. Delany, and then came in himself for half an hour. He returns no more to Windsor, unless for a short occasional hunt, till after the King's birthday. I

am sorry to lose him : he is always pleasant, good-humoured, and well-bred.

Later still, Colonel Goldsworthy also called on the same errand. His waiting finished with the year, and his successor, Colonel Welbred, will accompany the King's suite in our next return from London.

He opened with great warmth, and manifest discontent, upon his disappointment in being consigned to the tea-room next door, when such a party were in my room.

I had much discourse, while the rest were engaged, with Mr. Fisher, about my ever-valued, ever-regretted Mrs. Thrale. Can I call her by another name, loving that name so long, so well, for her and her sake? He gave me concern by information that she is now publishing, not only the Letters of Dr. Johnson, but her own.¹ How strange!

Mr. and Mrs. Fisher stayed with me till half-past ten o'clock, and promised to dispense with any formal return, and to accept my acquaintance upon such terms as might best suit my own conveniency.

Wednesday, January 2.—We came to town for the next day's Drawing-room. In the evening my dear father lent me his carriage to go to Titchfield Street. I called first in St. Martin's Street. My dear father was delightfully well and gay; and Sarah employed in painting me a trimming for the Queen's birthday.

Mrs. Maling,² and a pretty little daughter, accompanied me to Titchfield Street, where I found the good and dear Mr. Burney³ infinitely better than I had ventured to hope I could see him; but our

¹ Mrs. Piozzi's *Letters to and from the late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, etc., were published by Cadell, Saturday, March 8, 1788.

² Wife of Christopher Maling, of West Herrington, Durham, and mother to the Dowager-Countess of Mulgrave.

³ Charles Rousseau Burney, her brother-in-law.

sweet Esther looks so thin—so pale—I could almost cry when my eyes fix upon her. Yet she, too, is better, and poor Marianne¹ is recovering. I think her a lovely girl, both in mind and person, and wish I could see more of her.

How delightfully they played! how great a regale such music and such performance to my now almost antiquated ears! For though I hear now often, at Windsor, some pieces that give me great pleasure, 'tis a pleasure so inferior to what *they* can give, that it bears not any comparison.

Charles, also, came in to tea, and I appointed him for the next day at St. James's. It was altogether a truly comfortable and interesting evening to me.

Thursday, January 3.—This was a great Drawing-room, as the New Year's Day was kept upon it, the Ode performed, and the compliments of the season paid.

My kind Mrs. Ord, by appointment, came to me early at St. James's, and stayed till three o'clock. We had much to say to each other. I proffered her an evening against my next return to town, and begged her to let me meet a party of my old friends at her house. It is high time I should see them again, after this long separation; and now that my mind is easy, and I am quite resigned to my fate and situation, I feel an anxiety not to be forgotten by those who have been kind to me, and a yet stronger one to show them I have set no forgetting example. I rather wish to make this first re-entrance at the house of Mrs. Ord than at any other, because I am proud to show everybody the just first place she holds with me, among all that set; next, indeed, to my most bosom friends do I prize her, and because I am sure she will make a selection that will give me pleasure.

¹ Anna Maria Burney, eldest child of Charles Rousseau Burney and Esther. She married a M. Bourdois.

Mr. Smelt, the only person who, to both, would have been a welcome interrupter, came from the Drawing-room, to make me a little visit.

We had scarce arranged ourselves when a real intruder broke in, that disconcerted us all—Mr. S——;¹ but he is never disconcerted himself, for he never perceives what mischief he enacts. He came to beg my consolation upon a misfortune he had met the day before. He was the Queen's Equerry in waiting, as usual, and came to the palace to attend Her Majesty to the play; but he stole upstairs, into our eating-parlour, and stayed chattering there till he was too late, and the Queen was gone, and all the suite, and his own royal coach among the rest! So he had to walk across the park in the rain, to get into a chair. Yet he entreated me not to tell Mrs. Schwellenberg, for he said she would be more severe upon him than anybody. The Queen, he saw by her looks, had pardoned him, but with Mrs. Schwellenberg he could have no chance of quarter.

He went not away till Mr. Smelt kindly drew him off, by proposing that they should return to the Drawing-room together.

Mrs. Ord was soon obliged to follow, but not till she had distressed me, in the only way she can pain me, by inveigling, rather than forcing upon me, a beautiful but very expensive new year's gift: as to *her child*, she says, she does it, and I feel her so truly maternal I dare not struggle with her. "And why should you?" I hear my Fredy whisper. My dearest Fredy, for the same motive that urges the struggle with yourself—a wish of preventing such costly tokens of regard from being repeated, since I cannot be easy to see the best economists I know turn prodigals only for me.

In the evening came my dearest father, who

¹ Query, Mr. Stanhope. See *post*, under June 4, 1791.

gave up the opera to spend it with me ; and brought all his letters and papers, and was excellently in spirits, and made me truly happy. I have never seen him better—gayer—sweeter. He showed me a letter of my Susan's, and another of Charlotte's, and one from James, all exhilarating to me, and all shown with glee and pleasure. Mr. Smelt joined us for one half-hour, and was very charming.

Friday, January 4.—We returned to Windsor at noon ; Mrs. Schwellenberg, Miss Planta, Mr. de Luc, and myself.

In the morning, Mrs. Schwellenberg presented me, from the Queen, with a new year's gift.¹ It is plate, and very elegant. The Queen, I find, makes presents to her whole household every year : more or less, according to some standard of their claims which she sets up, very properly, in her own mind.

I have been drinking tea with my dear Mrs. Delany, and most socially. I found her very well. Mrs. Schwellenberg sent for Madlle. Montmollin, and I knew she would have also Colonel Welbred, who is just come into waiting, and therefore I have built upon this as a fair opportunity of taking a little time to myself. Accordingly, here at this moment I am writing to my beloved correspondents, instead of playing at piquet. Till all my licence, so lately bestowed, is withdrawn, I will continue to use it, and to dedicate the best part of it thus.

And now good-night. I have not thus written to the very moment for a longer time than I can now recollect.

But let me not fail to tell you I had the real honour, in the morning, of a little visit from the Bishop of Worcester. He is better, but still unwell ; and still I regret his indisposition and its

¹ See *ante*, p. 106.

consequence, in keeping him this Christmas from his customary annual visit to Windsor.

January 5.—This evening I determined upon still another effort for “separation of forces”; though I regretted missing Colonel Welbred, and should have sought, not shunned, his society, in any other situation. But here, to meet and to have society are two things. I begged my dear Mrs. Delany and Miss P—— to come to my apartment at a little after six o’clock, and to give immediate orders that I should be called downstairs to them. This they did, and I made my courtesy instantly, and without preface. Nothing was said, and all seemed promising.

Time thus, once more, in our disposal, we resumed, as we have done now every evening since the late new arrangement when we have met, the *Memoirs*. Nothing can be more interesting, more candid, more expressive of the sweet and clear mind of their *almost* incomparable writer,—not *quite*, my Susan!—my Fredy!

I had just ordered tea, but, alas! in the midst of this regale, a message intrudes, of invitation to the next room.

Reluctantly we broke up our party, myself the most mortified, who saw in this invite that “the next room” grew sick of the separation, and found it would not answer; nor did I at all enjoy the prospect of appearing before Colonel Welbred in the constrained and uncomfortable situation in which I am there placed. He had seen me so once, and I am sure the contrast, from being Prime Ministress, had not failed to strike him.

However, there was no choice: in we went, and my regret was a little slackened by the great politeness, almost cordiality, with which the Colonel expressed himself upon our re-meeting.

A new scene now opened. Mutual salutations

and compliments over, I seated myself next Miss P——, with full purpose of total stillness for the rest of the evening ; but Colonel Welbred, evidently not conjecturing that intention, drew a chair next mine, and began instantly an animated discourse, wholly and solely, when not positively called off, addressed to me.

I saw, very undoubtedly, that he was entirely a stranger to the cabals and rules and timidities of the apartment : having first met me when mistress of it, he knew not into what a cipher I sunk when only a guest in it ; at least he suspected not that such a sinking was voluntary and systematic : for though he had witnessed the change, in the last evening he spent here in June, he had concluded either that I might be ill, or imagined I had only declined conversing with him, in his two or three little openings, because the room was full, and he sat at a distance from me.

This I draw from his behaviour this evening, for he spoke to me with such an open gaiety of manner, that I was sure he had entered into none of the cautions that had intimidated the rest, and he appropriated himself to me with such an unreserved distinction, that I am certain he is wholly unaware how totally I disuse myself from playing a conspicuous part in that presence.

His gentleness, however, his perfect good-breeding, and a delicacy of manner I have rarely seen equalled, made it utterly impossible to decline his conversation : I entered into it, therefore, quietly and unaffectedly ; consoling myself internally, that if it proved painful elsewhere, it might abridge invitations which brought me into such circumstances.

The astonishment created was apparent. No equerry hitherto had ever attacked me in this presence, and least of all was it expected I should be singled out by a man universally reckoned the

most reserved and the shyest of the whole set ; but those are just the characters to whom something quiet and unobtrusive is most welcome.

Various attempts were made to draw him to another quarter ; but they were only followed by an immediate and civil reply, and the discourse instantly returned to its first channel.

The subject was a tour in Wales, which he has lately made, and of which he gave an account full of information and ingenuity. But though it was a narration fitted for all hearers, I believe he was willing to spare himself the continual trouble of interruption and explanation from constant misunderstanding, and therefore, in a lowered voice, it was designedly bestowed on one who had no other desire than to keep it alive by brief comments and simple inquiries.

At length, however, the Colonel and myself were both suddenly drawn off from our Welsh expedition by a description, given by Mrs. Schwelkenberg to Mrs. Delany, of her frogs ! The Colonel, I believe, had not heard of them before. His surprise, when he found they were kept in glasses, for fondlings¹ and favourites, was irresistible to Miss P——, who with great difficulty forbore laughing out ; and for myself, when he began to ask me, aside, a few questions upon the subject, I was forced to make a little silencing bow, and to look another way.

A commendation ensued, almost ecstatic, of their most recreative and dulcet croaking, and of their ladder, their table, and their amiable ways of snapping live flies. My neighbour, if I am not much mistaken, was then as much disposed to look another way as myself.

¹ Pets, darlings,—cp. Swift's verses *To a Lady* :—

Bred a *fondling* and an heiress,
Dress'd like any lady may'ress.

Mrs. Delany now asked if they caught at a fly as the chameleons do ?

"What will become of the poets," cried Colonel Welbred, "if the chameleons catch flies?" And then he asked me if I remembered Churchill's line upon the chameleon, in the *Prophecy of Famine*.¹

No, I told him, I had never read it ; and begged him to repeat it.

He was some time recollecting it ; and then, in a very low voice, he quoted it, and added to it several couplets : but I could hardly hear them, so fearful was he of turning spouter to the company at large.

At the close of the evening, when left alone with Mrs. Schwollenberg, she could not disguise her surprise at the behaviour of Colonel Welbred, but asked me very significantly if I had known him long ? for he had said something about "a year."

"He only said, ma'am," cried I, "by way of civility, 'I have not seen you this twelvemonth' ; but, in fact, a twelvemonth ago I had never seen him at all. I only made acquaintance with him about February last, during his waiting."

Sunday, January 6.—Things are now, indeed, much mended : I gain abundantly more time, and that recruits me, and my present plan of operations unlocks me from that enclosure of stagnation which, in my former plan, seemed necessary to my well-doing. I really thank Colonel Welbred very much, as I think this coming forth will reconcile my absences far more than all my studious holding backs : I mean in company, for when *tête-à-tête* I have always been as communicative as I could urge myself to be.

Tuesday, January 8.—This evening, according

¹ "No living thing, whate'er its food, feasts there,
But the Cameleon, who can feast on air."

The Prophecy of Famine, Churchill's *Poems*, 1769, i. 111.

to my present plan of freedom, as Mrs. Delany came not to the Lodge, I went myself to Mrs. Delany, and left the tea-table to its original state. I had the courage to make my visit from seven to ten o'clock.

I met Mr. Bryant, who came, by appointment, to give me that pleasure. He was in very high spirits, full of anecdote and amusement. He has as much good-humoured chit-chat and entertaining gossiping as if he had given no time to the classics and his studies, instead of having nearly devoted his life to them. One or two of his little anecdotes I will try to recollect.

In the year thirty-three of this century, and in his own memory, there was a cause brought before a Judge, between two highwaymen, who had quarrelled about the division of their booty; and these men had the effrontery to bring their dispute to trial. "In the petition of the plaintiff," said Mr. Bryant, "he asserted that he had been extremely misused by the defendant: that they had carried on a very advantageous trade together upon Blackheath, Hounslow Heath, Bagshot Heath, and other places; that their business chiefly consisted in watches, wearing apparel, and trinkets of all sorts, as well as large concerns between them in cash; that they had agreed to an equitable partition of all profits, and that this agreement had been violated. So impudent a thing, the judge said, was never before brought out in a court, and so he refused to pass sentence in favour of either of them, and dismissed them from the court."

Then he told us a great number of comic slip-slops, of the first Lord Baltimore,¹ who made a constant misuse of one word for another: for instance, "I have been," says he, "upon a little excoriation to

¹ The first Lord Baltimore was George Calvert, 1580-1632. He was made a baron in 1625.

see a ship lanced ; and there is not a finer going vessel upon the face of God's yearth : you've no idiom how well it sailed."

Having given us this elegant specimen of the language of one lord, he proceeded to give us one equally forcible of the understanding of another :—The late Lord Plymouth,¹ meeting in a country town with a puppet-show, was induced to see it ; and, from the high entertainment he received through Punch, he determined to buy him, and accordingly asked his price, and paid it, and carried the puppet to his country-house, that he might be diverted with him at any odd hour ! Mr. Bryant protests he met the same troop just as the purchase had been made, and went himself to the puppet-show, which was exhibited *senza* Punch !

Next he spoke upon the Mysteries, or origin of our theatrical entertainments, and repeated the plan and conduct of several of these strange compositions, in particular one he remembered which was called "Noah's Ark," and in which that patriarch and his sons, just previous to the Deluge, made it all their delight to speed themselves into the ark without Mrs. Noah, whom they wished to escape ; but she surprised them just as they had embarked, and made so prodigious a racket against the door that, after a long and violent contention, she forced them to open it, and gained admission, having first contented them by being kept out till she was thoroughly wet to the skin.

These most eccentric and unaccountable dramas filled up the chief of our conversation : and whether to consider them most with laughter, as ludicrous, or with horror, as blasphemous, remains a doubt I cannot well solve.

Wednesday, January 9.—To-day Mrs. Schwel-

¹ The late Lord Plymouth, in 1788, would be Other Lewis, fourth Earl of Plymouth, 1731-77.

lenberg did me a real favour, and with real good-nature; for she sent me the letters of my poor lost friends, Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Thrale, which she knew me to be almost pining to procure. The book belongs to the Bishop of Carlisle,¹ who lent it to Mr. Turbulent, from whom it was again lent to the Queen, and so passed on to Mrs. Schwellenberg. It is still unpublished.²

With what a sadness have I been reading! what scenes has it revived!—what regrets renewed! These letters have not been more improperly published in the whole, than they are injudiciously displayed in their several parts. She has given all—every word—and thinks that, perhaps, a justice to Dr. Johnson, which, in fact, is the greatest injury to his memory.

The few she has selected of her own do her, indeed, much credit: she has discarded all that were trivial and merely local, and given only such as contain something instructive, amusing, or ingenious.

About four of the letters, however, of my ever-revered Dr. Johnson are truly worthy his exalted powers: one is upon Death, in considering its approach as we are surrounded, or not, by mourners; another, upon the sudden and premature loss of poor Mrs. Thrale's darling and only son.³

Our name once occurs: how I started at its sight!—'Tis to mention the party that planned the first visit to our house: Miss Owen, Mr. Seward, Mrs. and Miss Thrale, and Dr. Johnson. How well shall we ever, my Susan, remember that morning!⁴

¹ John Douglas (see *ante*, p. 148). He was Bishop of Carlisle from 1787 to 1791.

² See *ante*, p. 356.

³ Henry Thrale. See vol. i. p. 159 *n*.

⁴ This is a letter from the Doctor to Mrs. Thrale at p. 345 of vol. i., referring to a projected visit to St. Martin's Street on the day following, March 20, 1777 (see *Early Diary*, 1889, ii. pp. 153-160).

I have had so many attacks upon her subject, that at last I fairly begged quarter, and frankly owned to Mrs. Schwellenberg that I could not endure to speak any more upon the matter, endeavouring, at the same time, to explain to her my long and intimate connection with the family. Yet nothing I could say put a stop to "How can you defend her in this?—how can you justify her in that?" etc. etc.—Alas! that I cannot defend her is precisely the reason I can so ill bear to speak of her.

How differently and how sweetly has the Queen conducted herself upon this occasion! Eager to see the letters, she began reading them with the utmost avidity: a natural curiosity arose to be informed of several names and several particulars, which she knew I could satisfy; yet, when she perceived how tender a string she touched, she soon suppressed her inquiries, or only made them with so much gentleness towards the parties mentioned, that I could not be distressed in my answers; and even in a short time I found her questions made in so favourable a disposition, that I began secretly to rejoice in them, as the means by which I reaped opportunity of clearing several points that had been darkened by calumny, and of softening others that had been viewed wholly through false lights.

To lessen disapprobation of a person once so precious to me, in the opinion of another so respectable both in rank and virtue, was to me a most soothing task; and my success was so obvious, from the lenity of all remarks, and the forbearance of all hard constructions, that I felt myself inexpressibly obliged; since her own strict exercise of every duty inclines and authorises a general expectation, even to a degree of severity, of strictness in others.

This morning, in a manner the most gratifying, she proposed Mr. Locke's coming to Windsor, to give her a lesson of colouring the impressions, next Easter. I think and trust that time will suit. But I said I was sure my dearest Mrs. Locke would come with him whenever the journey took place, both in care of him and in indulgence to me. "To be sure!" she said very sweetly, and in a tone of having taken it for granted. She also mentioned her intention of lodging them in her own canon's house, where Madame de la Fite resides in the summer.¹ But she bid me say nothing of all this at present. Probably something hangs upon it as yet undecided.

This is Mrs. Delany's last week at Windsor. On Saturday she goes to town for the winter; so do we ourselves on Tuesday. She could not come out this evening, and I determined to drink tea with her. I stayed, however, with Mrs. Schwelkenberg till just before her own tea-time, because she was alone, and was very civil.

I found my dear Mrs. Delany sweeter, more alive, and kinder than ever. This evening I finished reading her *Memoirs*. The almost incessant dangers to which she was exposed in all the early part of her life, and the purity of prudence with which she always extricated herself from them, have more than ever raised my admiration and increased my tenderness. What a character is Mrs. Delany's!—how noble throughout!—how great upon great occasions!—how sweet, how touching, how interesting upon all! Oh, what should I do without her here? That question will occur, but no answer can I make to it. Heaven be praised, however, she is well, uncommonly well, and looks as if she would live to be one hundred years old with ease.

¹ See vol. ii. p. 263.

Thursday, January 10.—When we were summoned to the tea-room I met Miss de Luc coming out. I asked if she did not stay tea? “How can I,” cried she, in a voice of distress, “when already, as there is company here without me, Mrs. Schwellenberg has asked me what I came for?”

I was quite shocked for her, and could only shrug in dismay and let her pass. When there is no one else she is courted to stay!

Mr. and Mrs. Fisher came soon after; and the Princesses Augusta and Amelia fetched away Mrs. Delany.

Soon after Colonel Welbred came, ushering in Mr. Fairly and his young son, who is at Eton school. I had seen Mr. F. but once since his great and heavy loss, though now near half a year had elapsed.¹ So great a personal alteration in a few months I have seldom seen: thin, haggard, worn with care, and grief, and watching—his hair turned grey—white, rather, and some of his front teeth vanished. He seemed to have suffered, through his feelings, the depredations suffered by others through age and time.²

His demeanour, upon this trying occasion, filled me with as much admiration as his countenance did with compassion: calm, composed, and gentle, he seemed bent on appearing not only resigned, but cheerful. I might even have supposed him verging on being happy, had not the havoc of grief on his face, and the tone of deep melancholy in his voice, assured me his solitude was all sacred to his sorrows.

Mr. Fisher was very sad himself, grieving at the death of Dr. Harley, Dean of Windsor and Bishop of Hereford.³ He began, however, talking to me

¹ See *ante*, p. 160.

² At this date Colonel Digby was forty-six.

³ Hon. John Harley, Bishop of Hereford from 1787 to 1788.

of these letters; and, with him, I could speak of them, and of their publisher, without reserve: but the moment they were named, Mrs. Schwellenberg uttered such hard and harsh things, that I could not keep my seat; and the less, because, knowing my strong friendship there in former days, I was sure it was meant I should be hurt. I attempted not to speak, well aware all defence is irritation, where an attack is made from ill-nature, not justice.

The gentle Mr. Fisher, sorry for the cause and the effect of this assault, tried vainly to turn it aside: what began with censure soon proceeded to invective; and at last, being really sick from crowding recollections of past scenes, where the person now thus vilified had been dear and precious to my very heart, I was forced, abruptly, to walk out of the room.

It was indifferent to me whether or not my retreat was noticed. I have never sought to disguise the warm friendship that once subsisted between Mrs. Thrale and myself, for I always hoped that, where it was known, reproach might be spared to a name I can never hear without a secret pang, even when simply mentioned. Oh, then, how severe a one is added, when its sound is accompanied by the hardest aspersions!

I returned when I could, and the subject was over.

When all were gone Mrs. Schwellenberg said, "I have told it Mr. Fisher that he drove you out from the room, and he says he won't not do it no more."

She told me next—that in the second volume I also was mentioned.¹ Where she may have heard this I cannot gather, but it has given me a sickness at heart inexpressible. It is not that I expect severity: for at the time of that correspondence—

¹ See note, p. 371.

at all times, indeed, previous to the marriage with Piozzi—if Mrs. Thrale loved not F. B., where shall we find faith in words, or give credit to actions? But her present resentment, however unjustly incurred, of my constant disapprobation of her conduct, may prompt some note, or other mark, to point out her change of sentiments—but let me try to avoid such painful expectations; at least, not to dwell upon them.¹

Oh, little does she know how tenderly at this moment I could run again into her arms, so often opened to receive me with a cordiality I believed inalienable. And it was sincere then, I am satisfied: pride, resentment of disapprobation, and consciousness of unjustifiable proceedings—these have now changed her; but if we met, and she saw and believed my faithful regard, how would she again feel all her own return!

Well, what a dream am I making!

Friday, January 11.—Upon this ever-interesting subject, I had to-day a very sweet scene with the Queen. While Mrs. Schwellenberg and myself were both in our usual attendance at noon, Her Majesty inquired of Mrs. Schwellenberg if she had yet read any of the letters?

“No,” she answered, “I have them not to read.”

¹ Miss Burney's apprehensions were ill founded. Beyond the reference to the “female infidel” (see *post*, under August 1, 1788), there was nothing to give her the least uneasiness. Indeed, more than one of the references to herself and her family must have pleased her. “Pray tell Miss Burney”—says the Doctor at p. 155 of vol. ii.—“that Mr. Hutton called on me yesterday, and spoke of her with praise; not profuse, but very sincere, just as I do.” And at p. 218 Mrs. Thrale writes—“I see nobody happy hereabouts but the Burneys; they love each other with uncommon warmth of family affection, and are beloved by the world as much as if their fondness were less concentrated. The Captain has got a fifty-gun ship now, and we are all so rejoiced.” Johnson's reply to this is familiar:—“I am willing . . . to hear that there is happiness in the world, and delight to think on the pleasure diffused among the Burneys. I question if any ship upon the ocean goes out attended with more good wishes than that which carries the fate of Burney. I love all of that breed, whom I can be said to know, and one or two whom I hardly know I love upon credit, and love them because they love each other” (p. 225).

I then said she had been so obliging as to lend them to me, to whom they were undoubtedly of far greater personal value.

"That is true," said the Queen; "for I think there is but little in them that can be of much consequence or value to the public at large."

"Your Majesty, you will hurt Miss Burney if you speak about that; poor Miss Burney will be quite hurt by that."

The Queen looked much surprised, and I hastily exclaimed,

"Oh no!—not with the gentleness Her Majesty names it."

Mrs. Schwollenberg then spoke in German; and, I fancy, by the names she mentioned, recounted how Mr. Turbulent and Mr. Fisher had "driven me out of the room."

The Queen seemed extremely astonished, and I was truly vexed at this total misunderstanding; and that the goodness she has exerted upon this occasion should seem so little to have succeeded. But I could not explain, lest it should seem to reproach what was meant as kindness in Mrs. Schwollenberg, who had not yet discovered that it was not the subject, but her own manner of treating it, that was so painful to me. My silence, however, was mortifying to myself; and I could not but regret that Mrs. Delany had not found an opportunity of clearing up the affair.

However, the instant Mrs. Schwollenberg left the room, and we remained alone, the Queen, approaching me in the softest manner, and looking earnestly in my face, said, "You could not be offended, surely, at what I said."

"Oh no, ma'am," cried I, deeply indeed penetrated by such unexpected condescension, "I have been longing to make a speech to your Majesty upon this matter; and it was but yesterday that I

entreated Mrs. Delany to make it for me, and to express to your Majesty the very deep sense I feel of the lenity with which this subject has been treated in my hearing."

"Indeed," cried she, with eyes strongly expressive of the complacency with which she heard me, "I have always spoke as little as possible upon this affair. I remember but twice that I have named it: once I said to the Bishop of Carlisle that I thought most of these letters had better have been spared the printing;¹ and once to Mr. Langton,² at the Drawing-room, I said, 'Your friend, Dr. Johnson, sir, has had many friends busy to publish his books, and his memoirs, and his meditations, and his thoughts; but I think he wanted one friend more.' 'What for, ma'am?' cried he. 'A friend to suppress them,' I answered. And, indeed, this is all I ever said about the business."

The sweetness of a vindication such as this, and the fulness of my heart upon a subject so near it, brought the tears into my eyes, and I could hardly gain firmness for what I felt it necessary to say: but, as well as I could, I thanked her in the most grateful terms for the whole tenor of lenity she had designed to show. I told her, very frankly, that my great regard and intimate connection both with Mrs. Thrale and Dr. Johnson could never be obliterated from my mind, and made all that was said of them constantly affect me. "And indeed, ma'am," I added, "the harsh things I continually hear have rendered the subject extremely painful to me; but not with your Majesty! Mrs. Schwellenberg has wholly misconceived me: for, quite on the contrary, it is rather a relief to me to speak of it where it is treated with patience; and,

¹ Hannah More agreed with Her Majesty. "They are such Letters as ought to have been *written*, but ought never to have been *printed*," she tells her sister (*Memoirs, etc. of Mrs. Hannah More*, 1834, ii. 100).

² Bennet Langton, 1737-1801.

indeed, I must venture to say I cannot but regard the great gentleness with which your Majesty has uniformly touched upon it as an indulgence to myself."

She did not disclaim my acknowledgment, and here we stopped. She went afterwards to Mrs. Delany, where she talked the matter over, and sweetly said she "would upon no account say anything to shock me." Indeed I am sure she would not. The dear and partial Mrs. Delany broke out into kindest praises, but ended them with saying, "One fault, however, Miss Burney has, though I think but one."

"And what is that?" cried the Queen, no doubt surprised at the singular number!

"She wants so much drawing out, ma'am."

"Yes, but she's very well worth it," was the gracious answer, which I have not been willing to deny myself the pleasure of letting my equally blind partialists hear, as well as Mrs. Delany.

Before dinner to-day, I had two *tête-à-têtes*, both with gentlemen. The first was with Mr. de Luc, who came to bring me a little pamphlet he had just printed in answer to an attack of Mr. de Saussure¹ upon some of his philosophical experiments. He explained and talked the whole affair over to me; and not long after he was gone, came Mr. Turbulent.

"May I come in, Miss Burney?" cried he, at the door.

"Certainly," quoth I.

"What an age since I have seen you! I never see you—never at all; or, when I do, 'tis the same thing—'tis not seeing you—you won't speak—won't

¹ Horace Bénédict de Saussure, 1740-99, a Swiss naturalist and Alpine traveller, who first reached the summit of Mont Blanc. He published *Voyages dans les Alpes* in 1779-96.

utter a word—won't even look as if a part of the company!"

Time enough! thought I, but I made only some small unmeaning answer; for I was reading those letters, which depressed me out of all power to combat him in one of those rattling fits for which, with some vexation, I saw him, once again, all disposed.

He would not, however, let the matter drop so. "Tell me," he cried, at last, "your reason for behaving in this manner? for shutting yourself up in this intolerable way?"

Still I would have evaded a discussion for which I was quite ill fitted; but he is not a character to be easily conquered; he only vented his reproachful remonstrances still more warmly, till, at last, he broke forth with—

"Upon my word, Miss Burney, it can be neither more nor less than downright affectation?"

"Oh, well," cried I, animating a little in my turn against a charge that could not but awaken me, "I must now, indeed, regard you as my friend, since you undertake to tell me my faults!"

"I hope so!" answered he, very gravely, "and as a clergyman, too, for I am so!"

"Well, then," cried I, pleased enough to look upon him in that style, "I must set about making my defence."

Away I put my book, but his curiosity turned into another stream, and he broke off from his exhortations to inquire what I had been reading.

"Your book," I answered; "these letters"; and then, very briefly, I gave him to understand how much the reading had depressed me, and how far I was from being a mere common peruser of anything from such hands.

He was surprised; having conceived I had merely acquaintance sufficient to give a zest to any

of their publications, without any of that interest which renders them what they are to me.

He loves not grave subjects, however, and I never feel inclined to discuss them with him. I was short, but explicit; and he eagerly flew back to his first theme.

"'Tis, however, too hard," cried he, "that you will never a little lighten those evenings. If you won't give a word, you might at least vouchsafe a look, and that would have an intelligence that might a little soften matters; but no, not an eye, not a glance, will you ever deign to give."

"Why then, Mr. Turbulent, in my own justification, I will tell you the truth: 'tis simply your own indiscretion that makes me avoid speaking to you, or looking near you."

"Indiscretion, ma'am?" repeated he, with an air of amazement, "my indiscretion? when have I been indiscreet? how? and in what?"

I made no immediate answer; for his interrogatories had a quickness that a little perplexed me how to explain myself: he grew both impatient and serious.

"Explain yourself, ma'am, I beg! On what is it you found this hard charge? Let me at least know it; do not send me away loaded thus with your censure."

"No, no," cried I, more lightly, "I have no thought of loading you."

"Yes, ma'am, you have," cried he, gravely, "and you really alarm me by it. Tell me, however, in what I am thus guilty? You make me, ma'am, you make me quite afraid of you!"

"No, indeed, do I not!" cried I, almost regrettingly.

"You do, upon my honour!" said he, solemnly.

It may be better if I can! thought I, secretly; therefore I let it pass, and only said,

“Well, I must now justify myself; for this charge of affectation, you may believe, a little mortifies *mon amour propre*! This silence, of which you complain, has two very strong motives: one is, that as I always talk as much as I possibly can when alone with Mrs. Schwellenberg, to divert our *tête-à-têtes* and keep up good humour, I am generally most happy to rest when any third person appears.”

“What would I not give to be in a corner, and hear you when you are setting forth all your powers in that manner!”

“Oh, they are soon set forth. My other motive is that no one is wished to be noticed, when we are in society, except the Lady of the Manor; and indeed you need not desire to have me more social on those occasions, for I have regularly observed that when you make your visits in my absence, or during my total silence, you are always very high in favour; and when you make them where you oblige me to speak, or to see you look your comments, in her presence, you constantly and instantly fall!”

“Well,” cried he, laughing very heartily, “if she does really see the different expression of my eyes in their different direction, I must forgive her spite, in favour of her penetration.”

“And ’tis the same with everybody: no visitor fares so well as when I put myself the most out of the way. You see, therefore, my generosity! ’tis all for your sake!”

“No, no, no! that won’t take! no, no, Miss Burney, ’tis all for your own—’tis nothing but mere policy! You well know how instantaneously a single syllable from you would draw all the attention to yourself, and you cannot doubt how cordially that would make her hate you.”

There was no contradicting this latter part: however, I asserted myself, by truly saying I merely

wished to keep peace for love of peace, not from fear and interest; as I had not that occasion for fear which belonged to almost all others here.

“They apprehend, and justly, the mischief of misrepresentation, and they bear anything and everything, from dread of being ill-spoken of to the Queen.”

He vowed aloud, and with might, he was exempt from every fear of that sort, and scorned to pay servile court with any such timidity.

I protested I firmly believed him; which is most true. “But in general,” I cried, “that is certainly the motive to obsequiousness in this quarter: she has the royal ear, they have it not. But with me it is different; I have the same ear myself; I could clear anything that was misunderstood, or, if I failed, I should think it unjust, and then not break my heart at the consequences!”

This escaped me inadvertently, and I was sorry for it. He laughed a little, and soon after took his leave, not without one little flight to give me for a ponder. “My fair philosopher,” he cried, “I must go; *mais*—if I had known you—*il y a quinze ans, il y auroit eu pour moi le plus grand danger du monde!*” Whether by this he meant when he was fifteen years younger, and had a heart more susceptible, or whether ’tis the date of his marriage, and he then had a heart more at liberty, I know not: but I would rather he would spare such speeches, though they are scarce uttered ere some other flight, or some total unconcern, represents them as nothing, and brings him back to his right place almost before I can look at him.

He then desired me, when I had finished Dr. Johnson’s *Letters*, to send them directed to his wife, as he should not be in Windsor. I congratulated him on her amendment, and desired my compliments

to that purpose: he thanked me, and went his way.

The evening I spent wholly with Mrs. Delany, who was to go to town the next day. But when, the next morning, I called to see her set off, and take her kind blessing, I found her in much anxiety: her niece had been ill in the night, and she had sent for Dr. Lind; and it was agreed their journey should be put off to the next day.

How did I languish to spend with them that day! but I was obliged to come home to dinner; Miss Planta and Madlle. Montmoulin being engaged to me.

I was amply recompensed for this little forbearance in spending an evening the most to my natural taste of any I have spent officially under the royal roof. How high Colonel Welbred stands with me you know; Mr. Fairly, with equal gentleness, good breeding, and delicacy, adds a far more general turn for conversation, and seemed not only ready, but pleased, to open upon subjects of such serious import as were suited to his state of mind, and could not but be edifying, from a man of such high moral character, to all who heard him.

Life and Death were the deep themes to which he led; and the little space between them, and the little value of that space, were the subject of his comments. The unhappiness of man, at least after the ardour of his first youth, and the general worthlessness of the world, seemed so deeply impressed on his mind, that no reflection appeared to be consolatory to it, save the necessary shortness of our mortal career.

Respect to his own private misfortunes made me listen in silence to a doctrine I am, else, ever ready to try to combat: for I cannot, myself, conceive this world so necessarily at variance with happiness, nor suppose our beneficent Creator averse to

our enjoying it, even on earth, where we seek it in innocence.

Colonel Welbred scarcely exerted himself any better, and, I do not doubt, he gave way from the same motive : for he seemed to feel every consideration that the most respectful compassion can inspire, for the situation as well as sentiments of Mr. Fairly.

When he talked, however, of the ardour of youth, I could not refrain naming Mrs. Delany, and mentioning that she had still every susceptibility for happiness ; and that I always thought with pleasure, from such an instance of the durability of human powers, that there was no time, no age, in which misery seemed tied to our existence, or in which, except for circumstances, it might not, pretty equally, be happy.

“Indeed,” answered he, “there is no time—I know of none—in which life is well worth having. The prospect before us is never such as to make it worth preserving, except from religious motives.”

I felt shocked and sorry. I wished him at Norbury ; and ventured—hardly, though, speaking to be heard—to acknowledge that I thought differently, and believed happiness dependent upon no season of life, though its mode must be adapted to all its changes.

“But do you think,” cried he, in a tone of extreme dejection, “that those who before forty have never tasted it, may ever expect it after ?”

Has *he* never tasted happiness, who so deeply drinks of sorrow ? He surprised me, and filled me, indeed, with equal wonder and pity. At a loss how to make an answer sufficiently general, I made none at all, but referred to Colonel Welbred : perhaps he felt the same difficulty, for he said nothing ; and Mr. Fairly then gathered an answer for himself, by saying, “Yes, it may, indeed, be attainable in the

only actual as well as only right way to seek it,—that of doing good !”

“ If,” cried Colonel Welbred, afterwards, “ I lived always in London, I should be as tired of life as you are : I always sicken of it there, if detained beyond a certain time.”

They then joined in a general censure of dissipated life, and a general distaste of dissipated characters, which seemed, however, to comprise almost all their acquaintance ; and this presently occasioned Mr. Fairly to say, “ It is, however, but fair for you and me to own, Welbred, that if people in general are bad, we live chiefly amongst those who are the worst.”

Whether he meant any particular set to which they belong, or whether his reflection went against people in high life, such as constitute their own relations and connections in general, I cannot say, as he did not explain himself. But I again wished him safe in Norbury Park, and looking from thence at a loved and pure abode, at the bottom as well as at the top of that sweet hill !

This, however, was no time for indulging myself in talking upon that subject, or painting scenes of felicity. Mr. Fairly, besides the attention due to him from all, in consideration of his late loss, merited from me peculiar deference, in return for a mark I received of his disposition to think favourably of me from our first acquaintance : for not more was I surprised than pleased at his opening frankly upon the character of my coadjutrix, and telling me at once, that when first he saw me here, just before the Oxford expedition, he had sincerely felt for and pitied me.

This must have resulted wholly from his own sense of the nature of things, as nothing, I am certain, escaped me that betrayed my unhappiness at that period. I did not, however, venture to

enlarge upon the subject, and he instantly dropped it when he found me reserved; though he laughed a little himself, on recollecting the dialogue upon the newspapers, and said he had seen my inward laugh, though, at that time, he observed me too much in awe of Mrs. Schwollenberg not to disguise it.

I fancy, by his saying "at that time," he conceives me now a person at large, and draws this conclusion from seeing me converse so much with Colonel Welbred in presence of La Présidente. He does not know how new a business that is, nor that it is wholly owing to the Colonel's innocence of my general retirement, not to any fresh adopted measures of my own courage. But I soon found him one whose observation was all alive to whatever passed; and, with those keen remarkers, where their shrewdness is unallied to ill-nature, there is a zest in conversing that gives a spirit to every subject.

In talking over the adventures of the hunt, Colonel Welbred gave an account of Lord Chesterfield,¹ that reminded me so strongly of an expression concerning him in a letter I had just received from Miss Baker, that I offered to show them the paragraph. They joined to desire I would produce it, and I ran into my own room for it; but I found it so mixed with remarks I could not possibly show, that I determined first to prepare it for their inspection by a few obliterations, and I returned and apologised that I had put it by to read to Mrs. Delany, but would produce it some other time.

Colonel Welbred acquiesced, with a smiling bow; but Mr. Fairly put into his smile so strong a suspicion of the truth, that I had withdrawn it purposely, that though he said never a word, I was forced to answer his look by assuring him I would really produce it another day.

¹ Philip Stanhope, fifth Earl of Chesterfield, 1755-1815.

He laughed to see me understand him, but readily accepted the promise ; and Colonel Welbred very deliberately said,

“Then if you allow of our waiting upon you another evening, you may perhaps bring it?”

“Oh, every evening while I stay, I hope!” cried Mr. Fairly, with a quickness so flattering, that it obtained my immediate affirmative: little as I had meant, in the beginning, to make any such engagement. But when I found, at last, conversation here such as I should have coveted anywhere, I thought it would be folly unpardonable to avoid it, merely because it was in an apartment where I had never met with it before.

When they left me to go to the music-room, I hastened to my dearest Mrs. Delany, and stayed to the last moment. I found Miss P—— recovered, and ready for her journey the next morning. I recounted my evening’s adventures, and my sweet counsellor approved my new promise, and strongly advised me to make the best throughout of an official circumstance that could not, without infinite difficulty, be wholly avoided. She gave me a very kind message for Mr. Fairly, inviting him to visit her in town, in remembrance of his mother, with whom she was well acquainted.

Sunday, 13. — I went to breakfast with my beloved old friend, and found her lovely niece quite well, and Dr. Lind with them, who, seeing my good spirits to find all well, joined to my extreme haste not to be too late for church, said I was “in a very fidget of joy.”

They were all prepared for departure ; and that, I am sure, was no joy to me, though we were now so soon to go to town ourselves for the winter.

I ran all the way, past King, Colonels, and regiment, to church, and just entered before the Queen.

At tea-time I went at once, and stationed myself in the room, with a book to pass the time till the arrival of my company; for Mr. Fairly's open request, and my own acquiescence, fixed me to my office during his stay, and determined me to take no further steps for eluding it.

He came, and brought his little son, with Colonel Welbred and General Harcourt, and all of them before eight o'clock, I fear from still misunderstanding the affair of yesterday. The two Colonels seated themselves next me, on each side, and little Mr. Fairly¹ sat on his father's chair. He seems a sweet boy: open, innocent, and sensible, and his father almost lives in him.

The evening was not so unexceptionable as that of yesterday, for the cold General Harcourt was a damp to it. I had, however, a good deal of separate conversation with Mr. Fairly, while Colonel Welbred talked with the General. He asked me if I had found my letter, assuring me that both himself and Colonel Welbred had been much disappointed by missing it. I instantly produced it. The expression for which I had shown it, concerning my Lord Chesterfield—"What pity it is his spirits run away with his brains!"—amused him much, and led to a good deal of character-stricture in a more general way. We also talked over the old newspaper story at full length; and I acquainted him of some laughable particulars which had followed his departure. He held them almost in too much contempt to laugh, but very gently and compassionately turned the discourse into an expression of concern at my situation, in being tied to such a person. He had felt, he said, quite sorry for me, and the more as he was told that she now made a point of always appearing, though in the

¹ Charles Digby, 1775-1841, then a boy at Eton, and eventually a canon of Windsor.

latter times of Mrs. Haggerdorn he informed me she had seldom shown herself.

This is an obligation *de plus*!

Just as tea was over the King came into the room: he stayed chatting and in high spirits some time, and when he went, called General Harcourt to follow. The other two stood suspended a moment, whether to go also, according to the usual custom, or to seize the apparent privilege of having no summons, to stay. But the suspense was decided by Colonel Welbred, who, smiling a little at his own act, softly stepped to the door, shut it, and then returned to his seat, with the look of a man who said to himself, "Come, 'tis as well to stay and be comfortable!"

Mr. Fairly seems ever ready at an invitation of that sort, and sat down immediately; and then they entered into conversation, with so much good sense, good breeding, good morality, and good fellowship, that far from wishing myself released, I was happy in their relinquishing both the usual waiting-room and their own Equerry-apartment, and preferring to remain in the tea-room.

There is something in Colonel Welbred so elegant, so equal, and so pleasing, it is impossible not to see him with approbation, and to speak of him with praise. But I found in Mr. Fairly a much greater depth of understanding; and all his sentiments seem formed upon the most perfect basis of religious morality.

During the evening, in talking over plays and players, we all three united warmly in panegyric of Mrs. Siddons; but when Mrs. Jordan¹ was named, Mr. Fairly and myself were left to make the best

¹ Dorothy Bland, known as Mrs. Jordan, 1762-1816. She was the mistress of the Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV.), and a most natural and bewitching actress.

of her. Observing the silence of Colonel Welbred, we called upon him to explain it.

"I have seen her," he answered, quietly, "but in one part."

"Whatever it was," cried Mr. Fairly, "it must have been well done."

"Yes," answered the Colonel, "and so well that it seemed to be her real character; and I disliked her for that very reason, for it was a character that, off the stage or on, is equally distasteful to me—a hoyden."

I had had a little of this feeling myself when I saw her in *The Romp*,¹ where she gave me, in the early part, a real disgust; but afterwards she displayed such uncommon humour that it brought me to pardon her assumed vulgarity, in favour of a representation of nature, which, in its particular class, seemed to me quite perfect.

At length, but not till near ten o'clock, Mr. Fairly said, "Now, Miss Burney, I fear we are trespassing upon your time?"

Colonel Welbred, with a look of alarm, instantly arose, repeating a similar question. I said they did me honour; but thinking it really time to break up, I added nothing more, and they left me, pleased with them both, and satisfied how little the official room had to do with my general distaste to my evenings there, since these two evenings had appeared as short as if spent in the fairest regions of liberty.

Monday, 14. — This morning my dear Miss Cambridge spent with me. Mrs. Hemming came to visit a relation at Windsor, and she kindly took the opportunity to spend the same time with me. Her society was doubly welcome to me, as it

¹ *The Romp* was a farce, first produced at Covent Garden in 1778, when Mrs. Mattocks played the heroine, Priscilla Tomboy. This subsequently became a favourite part with Mrs. Jordan, who acted it frequently at Drury Lane in 1785 and after.

was my first morning for missing my revered old friend.

Again I stationed myself, with work and books, ready for my cavaliers in the evening. Mr. Fairly's positive request has taken off a world of indecision. I was not, however, quite so well pleased with my office when I saw General Grenville and Mr. Fisher enlarge the party. Mr. Fisher, indeed, is never unwelcome; but General Grenville is as cold as General Harcourt, and wears an air of proud shyness extremely ill calculated to bring forward those who are backward. He is, besides, a valetudinary, and restless and *ennuyé* to a most comfortless excess.

"Will you give me leave," cried Colonel Welbred, "to begin your circle?" and drew a chair next mine, while Mr. Fairly took my other side, quite as a thing of course; and indeed I conversed with him almost solely, all the evening, leaving the other two gentlemen to do their best for General Grenville, whom I could by no means attempt.

Colonel Welbred extremely admired my beautiful Norbury work-box, and he did me the honour to suspect the impressions of being my own. For a moment I felt sorry to undeceive him, but it was only for a moment: the happiness of saying by whom was the joint work succeeded, and was far greater than I think I could have felt even from a more selfish consciousness.

When tea was over, poor General Grenville, who had been some time stretching and yawning, called out, "Come, Fairly, come! let's go to the King."

"I shall have quite standing enough to satisfy me," answered Mr. Fairly, "if I go half an hour later!"

"No, no—but it's time!—come!"

"You may go if you please," answered he,

bowing his full permission ; “ the King will want to talk with you about the Duke of York : but Welbred and I may stand still and hear ! To be sure, a great inducement to quit Miss Burney’s tea-table ! ”

He could not help laughing, but was forced for some time to desist ; and then attacking Colonel Welbred, declared it was absolutely necessary they should now show themselves.

Colonel Welbred, getting his hat, with a leave-taking bow to me, said, “ I am afraid it is ” ; and they went together, but Mr. Fairly steadily stayed out his half-hour longer. Mr. Fisher had brought him a very curious Latin poem, upon London and its environs, and they read it together, explaining and translating to me as they went on, though not without many professions of suspicion that I should understand it without that trouble. Not a syllable, Heaven knows !

I could keep no journal the rest of this week for extreme hurry. We went to town Tuesday the 15th, and spent every moment till the 18th in preparations for the Queen’s birthday.

The following day was indeed almost equally fatiguing, for the whole morning was divided between attendance, and receiving visits from the Queen’s ladies, of inquiry after Her Majesty. Among them came Lady Holderness,¹ whose early kindness to my dear father in the beginning of his life made her sight interesting to me ; and she talked to me of him with great pleasure and politeness.

I spent one evening at my dearest Mrs. Delany’s, with Lady Bute and Mrs. Ord ; and Miss P——

¹ Widow of Robert D’Arcy, fourth Earl of Holderness, 1718-78. Dr. Burney had made the acquaintance, at Lord Holderness’s house, of his lordship’s chaplain, William Mason.

showed me a newspaper paragraph which had been lent her for that purpose by Colonel Goldsworthy. He is a collector of these diurnal squibs. Lo, and behold it!

"Miss Burney, we are told, is directing her thoughts to the composition of a novel, of which a married woman is the heroine. As her aim is always moral, this production will no doubt prove extremely useful; for though the fair sex do not appear to want instruction with regard to their conduct in a single state, it is to be regretted that too many of them are deficient in that affection and goodness which constitute the chief part of conjugal duty."

There, ye fair married dames! what say ye to this? Do you think me qualified for this office, or will you say, "Go and first make trial yourself"?

I seized the paper, and bid her say that as it was the first I had heard of the design, I must beg to keep it, as a memorandum for its execution.

My kind Mrs. Ord now settled Thursday se'nnight for an assembly at her house of my old friends, purposely to indulge me with once again seeing them in a body.

I spent also an evening at Mrs. Cholmley's, to meet the amiable Lady Mulgrave,¹ who is just as unaffectedly sweet and modest as when Miss Cholmley, and so very kindly disposed, that, allowing for my little time, she dispensed with my waiting upon her at her own house, and voluntarily offered to meet me at Mrs. Cholmley's by any appointment I could ever have leisure to make. "For then," she said, "we may all be happy together."

At present Lord Mulgrave is perhaps the most felicitous of men; but I fear that cannot last. The disproportion is so great, in person as well as in years, that when she grows out of her present

¹ See *ante*, p. 267. 1

almost infantine reliance on his kindness for her happiness, I fear she will sigh for an equality out of her reach: for their mental endowments are as dissimilar as their personal; there is nothing between them to create sympathy: on his side is all the admiration; on hers all the novelty and pleasure of receiving it. How precarious a foundation for permanent welfare!

At the usual tea-time I sent Columb to see if anybody was come upstairs. He brought me word the eating-parlour was empty. I determined to go thither at once, with my work, etc., that there might be no pretence to fetch me when the party assembled; but upon opening the door I saw Mr. Turbulent there, and alone!

I entered with readiness into discourse with him, and showed a disposition to placid good-will, for with so irritable a spirit resentment has much less chance to do good than an appearance of not supposing it deserved.

Our conversation was of the utmost gravity. He told me he was not happy, though he owned he had everything to make him so; but he was firmly persuaded that happiness in this world was a real stranger.

I combated this misanthropy in general terms; but he assured me that such was his unconquerable opinion of human life.

How differently did I feel when I heard an almost similar sentiment from Mr. Fairly! In him I imputed it to unhappiness of circumstances, and was filled with compassion for his fate: in this person I impute it to something blameable within, and I tried by all the arguments I could devise to give him better notions. For him, however, I soon felt pity, though not of the same composition: for he frankly said he was not good enough to be happy—that he thought human frailty incompatible

with happiness, and happiness with human frailty ; and that he had no wish so strong as to turn monk !

I asked him if he thought a life of uselessness and of goodness the same thing.

"I need not be useless," he said ; "I might assist by my counsels. I might be good in a monastery—in the world I cannot ! I am not master of my feelings : I am run away with by passions too potent for control !"

This was a most unwelcome species of confidence, but I affected to treat it as mere talk, and answered it only by slightly telling him he spoke from the gloom of the moment.

"No," he answered, "I have tried in vain to conquer them. I have made vows—resolutions—all in vain ! I cannot keep them !"

"Is not weakness," cried I, "sometimes fancied, merely to save the pain and trouble of exerting fortitude ?"

"No, it is with me inevitable. I am not formed for success in self-conquest. I resolve—I repent—but I fall ! I blame—I reproach—I even hate myself—I do everything, in short, yet cannot save myself !"

My dear friends, how I shuddered to hear such a confession !

"Yet do not," he continued, seeing me shrink, "think worse of me than I deserve : nothing of injustice, of ill-nature, of malignancy—I have nothing of these to reproach myself with."

"I believe you," I cried, "and surely, therefore, a general circumspection, an immediate watchfulness——"

"No, no, no !—'twould be all to no purpose."

"'Tis that hopelessness which is most your enemy. If you would but exert your better reason——"

"No, ma'am, no ! 'tis a fruitless struggle. I know

myself too well—I can do nothing so right as to retire—to turn monk—hermit.”

“I have no respect,” cried I, “for these selfish seclusions. I can never suppose we were created in the midst of society, in order to run away to a useless solitude. I have not a doubt but you *may* do well, if you *will* do well.”

“You think so, because——” He stopped, and hesitated ; and then, in a tone of rising pride, added, “Yes, surely you—you, ma’am—yes—I have a right, ma’am, to expect you should think of me better than I do of myself?”

What he meant I know not to this moment ; but I did not choose to ask, and therefore made no answer.

Some time after he suddenly exclaimed, “Have you—tell me—have you, ma’am, never done what you repent?”

“Oh yes!—at times.”

“You have?” he cried, eagerly.

“Oh yes, alas! yet not, I think, very often—for it is not very often I have done anything?”

“And what is it has saved you?”

I really did not know well what to answer him ; I could say nothing that would not sound like parade, or implied superiority. I suppose he was afraid himself of the latter ; for, finding me silent, he was pleased to answer for me.

“Prejudice, education, accident!—those have saved you!”

“Perhaps so,” cried I. “And one thing more, I acknowledge myself obliged to, on various occasions—Fear. I run no risks that I see—I run—but it is always away from all danger that I perceive.”

“You do not, however, call that virtue, ma’am—you do not call that the rule of right?”

“No—I dare not—I must be content that it is certainly not the rule of wrong.”

He began then an harangue upon the universality of depravity and frailty that I heard with much displeasure ; for, it seems to me, those most encourage such general ideas of general worthlessness who most wish to found upon them partial excuses for their own. But in the midst of his railing entered Colonels Welbred and Gwynn.

January 31.—And now I must finish my account of this month by my own assembly at my dear Mrs. Ord's.

I passed through the friendly hands of Miss Ord to the most cordial ones of Mrs. Garrick, who frankly embraced me, saying, "Do I see you, once more, before I *tie*, my *tear little spark*? for your father is my *flame*, all my life, and you are a little *spark* of that flame!"

She added how much she had wished to visit me at the Queen's house, when she found I no longer came about the world ; but that she was too "*tiscreet*," and I did not dare say "*Do come!*" unauthorised.!

Then came Mr. Pepys, and I do not know what my dear Fredy would have said to his raptures at the meeting. She would have asked him, perhaps, if it would make a good paragraph!

He spoke to me instantly of the *Streatham Letters*. He is in agony as to his own fate, but said there could be no doubt of my faring well. Not, I assured him, to my own content, if named at all.

We were interrupted by Sir Joshua Reynolds. I was quite glad to see him ; and we began chatting with all our old spirit, and he quite raved against my present life of confinement, and the invisibility it had occasioned, etc., etc.

The approach of Mrs. Porteus¹ stopped this.

¹ Wife of Bishop Beilby Porteus, 1731-1808, who was transferred from Chester to London in 1787.

She is always most obliging and courteous, and she came to inquire whether, now she saw I really was not wholly immured, there was any chance of a more intimate cultivation of an acquaintance long begun, but stopped in its first progress. I could only make a general answer of acknowledgment to her kindness.

Her Bishop, whom I had not seen since his preferment from Chester to London, joined us, and most good-naturedly entered into a discourse upon my health.

I was next called to Mrs. Montagu, who was behind with no one in kind speeches, and who insisted upon making me a visit at the Queen's house, and would take no denial to my fixing my own time, whenever I was at leisure, and sending her word; and she promised to put off any and every engagement for that purpose.

I could make no other return to such civility, but to desire to postpone it till my dear Mr. and Mrs. Locke came to town, and could meet her.

Mrs. Boscawen was my next little *tête-à-tête*, but I had only begun it when Mr. Cambridge came to my side.

"I can't get a word!" cried he, with a most forlorn look, "and yet I came on purpose!"

I thanked him, and felt such a real pleasure in his sight, from old and never-varying regard, that I began to listen to him with my usual satisfaction.

He related to me a long history of Lavant,¹ where the new-married Mrs. Charles Cambridge is now very unwell; and then he told me many good things of his dear and deserving daughter; and I showed him her muff, which she had worked me, in embroidery, and we were proceeding a little in the old way, when I saw Mrs. Pepys leaning forward to hear us; and then Lady Rothes, who also

¹ Lavant is in Sussex, near Chichester.

seemed all attention to Mr. Cambridge and his conversation.

The sweet Lady Mulgrave came for only a few words, not to take me, she said, from older claimants; the good and wise Mrs. Carter expressed herself with equal kindness and goodness on our once more meeting; Miss P——, looking beautiful as a little angel, only once advanced to shake hands, and say, "*I* can see you another time, so *I* won't be unreasonable now."

Mr. Smelt, who came from Kew for this party, made me the same speech, and no more; and I had time for nothing beyond a "how do do" with Mr. Langton, *his* Lady Rothés,¹ Mr. Batt,² Mr. Cholmley, Lord Mulgrave, Sir Lucas Pepys, and Lady Herries.

Then up came Mrs. Chapone, and, after most cordially shaking hands with me, "But I hope," she cried, "you are not always to appear only as a Comet, to be stared at, and then vanish? If you are, let me beg at least to be brushed by your tail, and not hear you have disappeared before my telescope is ready for looking at you!"

When at last I was able to sit down, after a short conference with every one, it was next to Mr. Walpole, who had secured me a place by his side; and with him was my longest conversation, for he was in high spirits, polite, ingenious, entertaining, quaint, and original.

But all was so short!—so short!—I was forced to return home so soon! 'Twas, however, a very great regale to me, and the sight of so much kindness, preserved so entire after so long an absence, warmed my whole heart with pleasure and satisfaction.

My dearest father brought me home.

¹ Mary, widow of John, eighth Earl of Rothés, whom Langton had married in 1770.

² See *post*, under October 1790.

MR. TWINING TO MISS BURNEY

COLCHESTER, *January 20, 1788.*

DEAR MISS BURNEY—I have no right, poor sinner as I am, to come into your presence with the least simper upon my face. I will not attempt to joke myself out of the scrape. That would be as preposterous as if Mr. Hastings should make his defence before the House of Lords by cutting two or three capers or jumping over the bar.¹ And yet now what is all this but simpering?—Bless me!—I, too, who pique myself upon having an uncommon power of commanding my muscles, and putting on the face of a man going to be hanged, while the shoulders of my inward man are jolting up and down in the convulsions of a horse-laugh.—What can I do with myself?—and what is still more impudent, I not only cannot look perfectly grave myself, but cannot imagine you to look otherwise than pleasant upon me. But I know it is not so—I know it is not so—I know you frown—at least you do in theory; in practice, I believe you would find it rather—What am I about?—I must e'en back out of your presence-chamber, and come in again.

Dear Miss B.—I am, really and truly, perfectly ashamed of my abominable silence. You cannot be more angry with me than I really am, and have long been, with myself. I can only say this, that not a single fortnight of this long silence was intended. Your letter—I am saying what only serves to blacken my crime, but it is the truth—your letter gratified and delighted me; and I should have turned upon my heel in a pet, to any living soul who had only hinted a possibility of my not

¹ The Hastings trial began on February 13 (see *post*, p. 407).

thanking you for it within a month after I received it. But alas! to my frailty, and singular talent of procrastination, nothing is impossible. As time stole on, sin, and of course the necessity of apology first, then the difficulty of apology, and last of all, the impossibility of apology—'tis so frightful that I stop there, unable to make anything of this in the way of a grammatical sentence. ["Muscles, do your office!"—they are relaxing again!] Well, but I spied a little bit of a paw in one page of my last letter from Chelsea College,¹ that gave me comfort.

So far I have tried what a little forced pleasantry will do for me,—with a great deal of real penitence and humiliation wrapped up in it. I take occasion to modulate into another subject, that may be favourable to me, as it will (I hope) put your mind into a posture of congratulation; with which it can no more hold its posture of resentment than I can now hold two livings without a dispensation: for, you must know, my old Cambridge acquaintance, the Bishop of London,² has just given me the living of St. Mary's, in Colchester. Its value is no great matter; about £90 a-year, I believe: but from its situation and other circumstances, it has always been more desirable to me than greater things elsewhere; and so pray be as glad as you possibly can. But admire me too: I actually asked for this dab of preferment. It is the first piece of pushery I ever was guilty of; and it has answered so well, that all my old sneaking principles of modesty and delicacy, etc., are overturned *de fond en comble*; and I believe if I were to begin the world again, I should run at everything that came in my way, like a mad bull. (Is not that your way at Court?) Above all things, I repent of having been all my life so *entêté*—(I put myself in mind of Captain

¹ Where Dr. Burney was organist.

² Dr. Porteus (see vol. i. p. 358).

Aresby,—did you ever read *Cecil*—hush !) with the foolish notion of being contented. Not but the thing is well enough too, in itself ; but the worst of it is, the world is so contented with one's being contented. I have never thought so well of this virtue in myself, since I read an excellent thing, and I verily believe a very true thing, that Sir W. D'Avenant says about it : viz. "Contentedness, when examined, doth mean something of laziness as well as moderation." So you see how I am likely to improve, if I live long enough !—But now let me move your pity, and try to steal into your forgiveness that way. Consider what a gauntlet I have to run !—Archbishop, Bishop, and their examining Chaplain, more frightful than themselves—Dispensation, Institution, Solicitor's fees, Secretary's fees, etc., etc.—What will become of me !—Imagine me shut up in a Chaplain's apartment at Lambeth, and forced to write my thoughts in Latin upon two theological questions, whether I have any thoughts upon them or not ! Pray don't you think, as I always did, that the *Examinee*, upon these occasions, has a natural right—a right of which he ought no more to be deprived than of the right of self-defence when he is corporeally attacked—to examine the *Examiner* in his turn ? Well, I must endure it with what patience I may. I can write "about it, Goddess, and about it" ;¹ and words will go for meaning, all the world over. I believe I am but a scurvy Theolog ;—but that you need not mention at Court.

I have another claim upon your commiseration ; nay, many claims ;—but the loss of four teeth—the four front contiguous teeth of my upper set,—*I do not mention*. (I like that sort of rhetorical lie.) I have not wherewithal to make an F, or a V, if you would give the world for them—but *that* I say

¹ Pope's *Dunciad*, iv. 252.

nothing of. I have got this preferment just in time to whistle sermons to a polite congregation. This is a trifle. But this *Press-work*! (Were *you* ever in the—hush!) Here am I printing, perhaps in a ruinous manner, a great fat quarto, which not above a dozen persons will buy, and not half the dozen read.¹ And really now it is, I verily believe, owing, *principally* at least, to the hurry I have been in all the summer, to get this business off my hands, or at least off my head, that I have behaved thus shabbily to you, and, indeed, to many others of my best and most valued friends and correspondents. Dr. Johnson, you know, said that “illness makes a man a scoundrel.” I have not, thank God, had this excuse to plead; but I fancy the being in the press has some effect of the same kind. Well, I hope it will be a purgatory to me, and that I shall come out a new man.

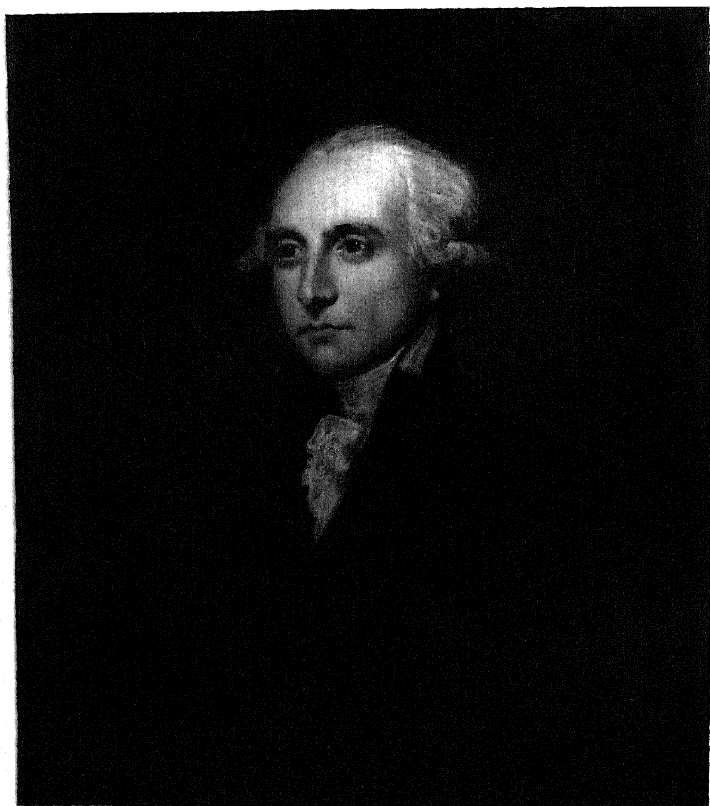
I shall be in town soon, and shall inquire at Newton House whether I may be permitted to throw myself at your feet. I have thought of you often and often: indeed conscience took care of that!—I have had my punishment. I wonder whether you will ever write to me again! Will you vouchsafe, *un beau jour*, to try me once more?—You see I keep to my new principles. Mrs. T. begs her best compliments. It is time to release you. Pardon all this foolery, and believe me, most truly and sincerely yours,
T. T.

¹ His translation of Aristotle's *Treatise on Poetry*, which appeared in 1789.

PART XXXI

1788

Mrs. Siddons in *Portia*—*The Humourist*—*The Death of Abel*—Return to Windsor—A close observer—Visit from the King—His taste in dress—Return to St. James's—The Duke of York—Elopement of Lady Augusta Campbell—The Duchess of Ancaster's masked ball—An evening at home—Mr. Twining—The Princess Elizabeth—The trial of Warren Hastings—Westminster Hall—Description of it on the occasion of the trial—Edmund Burke—Fox—Sheridan—Wyndham—Procession of the Princes of the Blood and Peers—The prisoner—Ceremonies of the arraignment—Speech of Lord Chancellor Thurlow to the prisoner—Reply of Warren Hastings—Opening of the trial—The mischiefs of political party—Lady Claremont—A renewal of acquaintance—Mr. Crutchley—Recollections of Streatham—Mr. Wyndham—His admiration of Dr. Johnson—His reflections on the spectacle—Character and bearing of the Chancellor—His bias in favour of Hastings—The two archbishops—Wyndham's opinion of Hastings—Remonstrance and reply—William Pitt—Major Scott—Mr. Francis—Public character of Hastings—The charges against Hastings—His private habits and character—His personal appearance—His mild and humble demeanour in private life—Character and manners of Wyndham—Mr. Wyndham again—His reflections on the proceedings—Burke's wonderful powers of eloquence—Sir Elijah Impey—His threatened impeachment—His character—Close of the first day's proceedings—Conference on it with the Queen—Second day at Hastings's trial—Speech of Burke against Hastings—Character of his eloquence—Comedy and farce—Mr. Crutchley—General Caillot—*The Old Woman's Magazine*—Hear both sides—Irony the strongest weapon of oratory—Eloquence of Fox—Lord Walsingham—Sir Lucas Pepys—General prejudice against Hastings.



Emery Walker Ph. Sc.

*William Windham
after Reynolds*

Friday, February 1.—To-day I had a summons in the morning to Mrs. Schwollenberg, who was very ill; so ill as to fill me with compassion. She was extremely low-spirited, and spoke to me with quite unwonted kindness of manner, and desired me to accept a sedan-chair, which had been Mrs. Haggerdorn's, and now devolved to her, saying, I might as well have it while she lived as when she was dead, which would soon happen.

I thanked her, and wished her, I am sure very sincerely, better. Nor do I doubt her again recovering, as I have frequently seen her much worse. True, she must die at last, but who must not? My Fredy, my Susan, Mr. Locke, Mrs. Delany, all the world's fairest ornaments must go the same way. Ah! the survivor of all such—not the departed—will be worthy of pity.

At night, by the Queen's gracious orders, I went to the play with Miss Goldsworthy, Madlle. Montmoulin, and, by the same gracious permission, at the request of Miss Goldsworthy, Mrs. Gwynn. I was very glad to see her in a place where I could so much better converse with her than where I had last met her. She looked as beautiful as the first day I saw her, and was all gentleness and softness. Colonels Gwynn and Goldsworthy were our beaux.

The play was *The Merchant of Venice*. Mrs. Siddons played Portia; and charmingly, though not, I think, with so perfect an entrance into the character as I have observed in her performance of some other parts.

The farce was a farce indeed,—*The Humourist*:¹ a thing without plot, character, sentiment, or invention; yet by means of ludicrous mistakes and

¹ By James Cobb, 1756-1818. John Bannister played its leading part of "Dabble," a dentist; and Burke had induced Sheridan to produce it at Drury Lane in 1785. It has not been printed.

absurd dialogues, so irresistibly comic, for one representation, that we all laughed till we were almost ashamed of ourselves.

· *Saturday, February 2.*—The Queen this morning lent me *The Death of Abel*,¹ which she was much astonished to hear me say I had never read. After we arrived at Windsor she kept me with her in close conversation upon various subjects till her dinner was called. More and more she keeps me in her presence, rarely dismissing me, when we are alone, except by the necessity of her avocations and engagements; and the sweetness and openness of her discourse engage me to the warmest gratitude and most faithful attachment. Were I at liberty to give instances for illustration, my journal could have room for nothing else.

Miss Planta dined with me, and I begged her charitable assistance in the evening. She came, and Colonel Welbred sent me his compliments, and begged to know if he might come, with Colonel Goldsworthy, to tea. Yes—*sans doute*—and they came early.

“I don’t ask,” cried Colonel Welbred, almost as he entered the room, “how Miss Burney was entertained at the play last night.”

“You saw it, then?” cried I.

“Yes, perfectly; but have you brought Pompey down with you?”

“What Pompey?”

“*The Humourist’s* Pompey. That part, I saw, was your favourite.”

I owned the charge, but asked how he had discovered it. Instead of answering me, he picked out another part which had particularly amused

¹ By Salomon Gesner, 1730-88, poet and landscape painter. It is the most popular, but not the best, of his literary efforts. In this country, however, it was very popular. “The translation of that work has been oftener reprinted in England than ever the original was in Germany” (Moritz’s *Travels in England in 1782, 1797*, pp. 40-41).

me—then another and another that had struck me—then every part almost, through the five acts, with which I had most been pleased in the play.

I was quite amazed at his seeing thus distinctly, and with such discernment, across the house. “Nor can I conceive,” cried I, “what sort of eyesight you must have ; for whenever I looked myself opposite, you appeared to me leaning on your hand, and scarce looking even at the stage with any care or strong attention.”

“But I saw,” cried he, smiling ; “and, indeed, I take great delight in watching for thoughts and opinions at particular passages during a play : ’tis at least half my amusement. I think that then I can read into people’s own dispositions and characters.”

On my word, thinks I, if I had been aware of being watched thus, and with such a view, I should less have liked my *vis-à-vis* situation. I confessed myself, however, to have just the same propensity to drawing my conclusions, and honestly regretted that I had not the same ability, from the shortness of my sight.

We then ran over almost the whole, both of the play and farce, comparing notes, and re-diverting ourselves with all we had seen.

This re-performance of our dramas was interrupted by the appearance of His Majesty, who, however, also talked them over, and commented upon them very judiciously. The King’s judgment upon these subjects seems to me almost always good, because constantly his own, natural and unbiassed, and resulting from common sense, unadulterated by rules.

The King always makes himself much diversion with Colonel Goldsworthy, whose dryness of humour, and pretended servility of submission, extremely entertain him. He now attacked him

upon the enormous height of his collar, which, through some mistake of his tailor, exceeded even the extremity of fashion. And while the King, who was examining and pulling it about, had his back to us, Colonel Welbred had the malice to whisper me, "Miss Burney, I do assure you 'tis nothing to what it was; he has had two inches cut off since morning!"

Fortunately, as Colonel Welbred stood next me, this was not heard; for the King would not easily have forgotten it. He soon after went away, but gave no summons to his gentlemen.

And now Colonel Welbred gave me another proof of his extraordinary powers of seeing. You now know, my dear friends, that in the King's presence everybody retreats back as far as they can go, to leave him the room to himself. In doing this, through the disposition of the chairs, I was placed so much behind Colonel Welbred as to conclude myself wholly out of his sight; but the moment the King retired, he said, as we all dropped on our seats, "Everybody is tired—Miss Burney the most—for she has stood the stillest. Miss Planta has leant on her chair, Colonel Goldsworthy against the wall, myself occasionally on the screen, but Miss Burney has stood perfectly still—I perceived that without looking."

'Tis, indeed, to us standers, an amazing addition to fatigue to keep still.

We returned to town next day.

In the morning I had had a very disagreeable, though merely foolish, embarrassment. Detained, by the calling in of a poor woman about a subscription, from dressing myself, I was forced to run to the Queen, at her summons, without any cap. She smiled, but said nothing. Indeed, she is all indulgence in those points of externals, which rather augments than diminishes my desire of showing

apparent as well as my feeling of internal respect : but just as I had assisted her with her *peignoir*, Lady Effingham was admitted ; and the moment she sat down, and the hair-dresser began his office, a page announced the Duke of York, who instantly followed his name.

I would have given the world to have run away, but the common door of entrance and exit was locked, unfortunately, on account of the coldness of the day ; and there was none to pass, but that by which His Royal Highness entered, and was standing. I was forced, therefore, to remain, and wait for dismissal.

Yet I was pleased, too, by the sight of his affectionate manner to his Royal Mother. He flew to take and kiss her hand, but she gave him her cheek ; and then he began a conversation with her, so open and so gay, that he seemed talking to his most intimate associate.

His subject was Lady Augusta Campbell's elopement from the masquerade.¹ The Duchess of Ancaster had received masks at her house on Monday, and sent tickets to all the Queen's household. I, amongst the rest, had one ; but it was impossible I could be spared at such an hour, though the Queen told me that she had thought of my going, but could not manage it, as Mrs. Schwellenberg was so ill. Miss Planta went, and I had the entire equipment of her. I started the project of dressing her at Mrs. Delany's, in all the most antique and old-fashioned things we could borrow ; and this was put very happily in execution, for she was, I have heard, one of the best and most grotesque figures in the room.

I really believe the most gracious Queen forbore dismissing me, merely because she thought it would

¹ Augusta Campbell, eldest daughter of John, fifth Duke of Argyll (1723-1806). She married General Clavering, and died 1831.

add to my embarrassment to pass by the Duke ; for when he moved to another part of the room, she said in the most condescending manner, " Now, Miss Burney, I will let you go and dress yourself too."

Sunday, February 10.—This first Sunday in Lent I drank tea in St. Martin's Street. The six Sundays in Lent are all that we ever pass in town, for the whole year through.

I had the infinite pleasure to meet here Mr. Twining. He is in town for a few days, and he had intended coming to see me, just with the same kind ease he would have intended it in St. Martin's Street. Not the smallest idea had he conceived of my situation, but concluded, and very naturally, that, wherever I was myself, there might be my friends. Were that the case, my situation now, with respect to itself, could have nothing left to wish. But when was there such a situation as that ? There being no door to enter but across the great court, and no stairs to ascend but those used on all common occasions by the Royal Family themselves, makes all visits here, except by appointment, or from publicly received and allowed friends, absolutely impracticable.

Mr. and Mrs. Bogle, also, were of this party, and my dear father came from his Chaos¹ to join it. The evening was all too short ; yet Mr. Twining broke from scores of relations to come, and was forced to return to them before even my time of absconding. I followed him out to the door, just as we used jointly to do, and thought so of old times and of my Susan, when we were accustomed to go like supporters on each side, and never lose

¹ "The capacious table of [Dr. Burney's] small but commodious study, exhibited, in what he called his chaos, the countless increasing stores of his materials. Multitudinous, or, rather, innumerable blank books, were severally adapted to concentrating some peculiar portion of the work" (*Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, 1832, i. 245).

a quarter of an instant that we could spend with him. Can I use these words and not recall to my Susan him whom my whole mind fills with from this last sentence?—our most beloved Mr. Crisp!—who arrived in our hearts the first, and took place of all! Ah, my dearest Susan, what a blank is to me the reflection that he is no more! Even to this moment I can scarce forbear, at times, considering how I shall relate to him my affairs, and what will be his opinion when he hears them! Yet the remembrance grows less bitter; for now, as you find, I can bear to name it. Till very, very lately, I was always forced to fly from the subject wholly; so poignant, so overwhelming I found it.

Monday, February 11.—In the afternoon, while Mr. Turbulent, Miss Planta, and myself were at coffee, the Princess Elizabeth came for the former. He was very unwilling to go, and most ridiculously exclaimed, “Why should I go, ma’am?—Why should your Royal Highness go? why should you not come and sit down here comfortably and rationally, and enter into conversation with us?”

Who else could have ventured at such a speech, and not have given the highest offence? But he is so privileged a favourite with all the Royal Family, that he utters all his flights to them almost as easily as to unroyalists.

“I can’t, sir,” answered she, very good-humouredly, “or I give you my word I should like it very much; but as I cannot stay here with you, you must be content to come with me.” And away they went together.

The next day we returned to town, that the Queen might be ready for the great State Trial¹ on the 13th.

¹ The trial of Warren Hastings. Beginning on Wednesday, February 13, 1788, it lasted seven years and three months, at the end of which time (Thursday, April 23, 1795) he was acquitted.

February 13.—To what an interesting transaction does this day open ! a day, indeed, of strong emotion to me, though all upon matters foreign to any immediate concern of my own—if anything may be called foreign that deeply interests us, merely because it is not personal.

The Trial, so long impending, of Mr. Hastings, opened to-day. The Queen yesterday asked me if I wished to be present at the beginning, or had rather take another day. I was greatly obliged by her condescension, and preferred the opening. I thought it would give me a general view of the Court, and the manner of proceeding, and that I might read hereafter the speeches and evidence.

She then told me she had six tickets from Sir Peter Burrell, the Grand Chamberlain,¹ for every day ; that three were for his Box, and three for his gallery. She asked me who I would go with, and promised me a box-ticket not only for myself, but my companion. Nor was this consideration all she showed me ; for she added, that as I might naturally wish for my father, she would have me send him my other ticket.²

I thanked her very gratefully, and after dinner went to St. Martin's Street ; but all there was embarrassing : my father could not go ; he was averse to be present at the trial, and he was a little lame from a fall. In the end I sent an express to Hammersmith, to desire Charles to come to me the next morning by eight o'clock.

I was very sorry not to have my father, as he had been named by the Queen ; but I was glad to have Charles.

¹ Sir Peter Burrell was Deputy Grand Chamberlain from 1780 to 1821.

² One of the tickets given to Miss Burney by the Queen is still preserved by Archdeacon Burney of Surbiton. In Macaulay's graphic description of the scene in Westminster Hall ("Warren Hastings," *Edinburgh Review*, Oct. 1841) he makes no reference to Miss Burney. But her *Diary and Letters* were not issued until 1842-46, and his review of the first volumes was only published in January 1843.

I told Her Majesty at night the step I had ventured to take, and she was perfectly content with it. "But I must trouble you," she said, "with Miss Gomme, who has no other way to go."

This morning the Queen dispensed with all attendance from me after her first dressing, that I might haste away. Mrs. Schwellenberg was fortunately well enough to take the whole duty, and the sweet Queen not only hurried me off, but sent me some cakes from her own breakfast-table, that I might carry them in my pocket, lest I should have no time for eating before I went.

Charles was not in time, but we all did well in the end. We got to Westminster Hall between nine and ten o'clock; and, as I know my dear Susan, like myself, was never at any trial, I will give some account of the place and arrangements; and whether the description be new to her or old, my partial Fredy will not blame it.

The Grand Chamberlain's Box¹ is in the centre of the upper end of the Hall: there we sat, Miss Gomme and myself, immediately behind the chair placed for Sir Peter Burrell. To the left, on the same level, were the green benches for the House of Commons, which occupied a third of the upper end of the Hall, and the whole of the left side: to the right of us, on the same level, was the Grand Chamberlain's gallery.

The left side² of the Hall, opposite to the green benches for the Commons, was appropriated to the Peeresses and Peers' daughters.

The bottom of the Hall contained the Royal

¹ There is a useful "plan of the Court" in the *History of the Trial*, etc., 1796. There is also a well-known print, dated January 3, 1789, by R. Pollard and F. Jukes, after a water-colour drawing by Edward Dayes, which gives a good idea of the scene, although, being taken from a point behind the Prisoner, it does not show the Great Chamberlain's Box, where Miss Burney sat. The print is crowded with figures, and does full justice to the head-dresses commented on by Lady Claremont (see *post*, p. 411).

² Miss Burney apparently means "right," not "left."

Family's Box and the Lord High Steward's, above which was a large gallery appointed for receiving company with Peers' tickets.

A gallery also was run along the left side of the Hall, above the green benches, which is called the Duke of Newcastle's Box, the centre of which was railed off into a separate apartment for the reception of the Queen and four eldest Princesses, who were then *incog.*, not choosing to appear in state, and in their own box.

Along the right side of the Hall ran another gallery, over the seats of the Princesses,¹ and this was divided into boxes for various people—the Lord Chamberlain² (not the *Great* Chamberlain), the Surveyor, Architect, etc.

So much for all the raised buildings; now for the disposition of the Hall itself, or ground.

In the middle was placed a large table, and at the head of it the seat for the Chancellor, and round it seats for the Judges, the Masters in Chancery, the Clerks, and all who belonged to the Law; the upper end, and the right side of the room, was allotted to the Peers in their robes; the left side to the Bishops and Archbishops.

Immediately below the Great Chamberlain's Box was the place allotted for the Prisoner. On his right side was a box for his own Counsel, on his left the box for the Managers, or Committee, for the Prosecution; and these three most important of all the divisions in the Hall were all directly adjoining to where I was seated.

Almost the moment I entered I was spoken to by a lady I did not recollect, but found afterwards to be Lady Claremont;³ and this proved very agreeable, for she took Sir Peter's place, and said she would occupy it till he claimed it; and then, when just before me, she named to me all the

¹ Peeresses?

² Lord Salisbury.

³ See vol. ii. p. 214

order of the buildings, and all the company, pointing out every distinguished person, and most obligingly desiring me to ask her any questions I wanted to have solved, as she knew, she said, "all those creatures that filled the green benches, looking so little like gentlemen, and so much like hairdressers." These were the Commons.¹ In truth, she did the honours of the Hall to me with as much good nature and good breeding as if I had been a foreigner of distinction, to whom she had dedicated her time and attention. My acquaintance with her had been made formerly at Mrs. Vesey's.

The business did not begin till near twelve o'clock. The opening to the whole then took place, by the entrance of the *Managers of the Prosecution*; all the company were already long in their boxes or galleries.

I shuddered, and drew involuntarily back, when, as the doors were flung open, I saw Mr. Burke, as Head of the Committee, make his solemn entry. He held a scroll in his hand, and walked alone, his brow knit with corroding care and deep labouring thought,—a brow how different to that which had proved so alluring to my warmest admiration when first I met him! so highly as he had been my favourite, so captivating as I had found his manners and conversation in our first acquaintance, and so much as I had owed to his zeal and kindness to me and my affairs in its progress! How did I grieve to behold him now the cruel Prosecutor (such to me he appeared) of an injured and innocent man!

Mr. Fox followed next, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Wyndham, Messrs. Anstruther, Grey, Adam, Michael Angelo Taylor, Pelham, Colonel North, Mr. Frederick Montagu, Sir Gilbert Elliot,

¹ See *ante*, p. 409.

General Burgoyne, Dudley Long, etc.¹ They were all named over to me by Lady Claremont, or I should not have recollected even those of my acquaintance, from the shortness of my sight.

When the Committee Box was filled the House of Commons at large took their seats on their green benches, which stretched, as I have said, along the whole left side of the Hall, and, taking in a third of the upper end, joined to the Great Chamberlain's Box, from which nothing separated them but a partition of about two feet in height.

Then began the procession, the Clerks entering first, then the Lawyers according to their rank, and the Peers, Bishops, and Officers, all in their coronation robes; concluding with the Princes of the Blood,—Prince William, son to the Duke of Gloucester, coming first, then the Dukes of Cumberland, Gloucester, and York, then the Prince of Wales; and the whole ending by the Chancellor, with his train borne.

They then all took their seats.

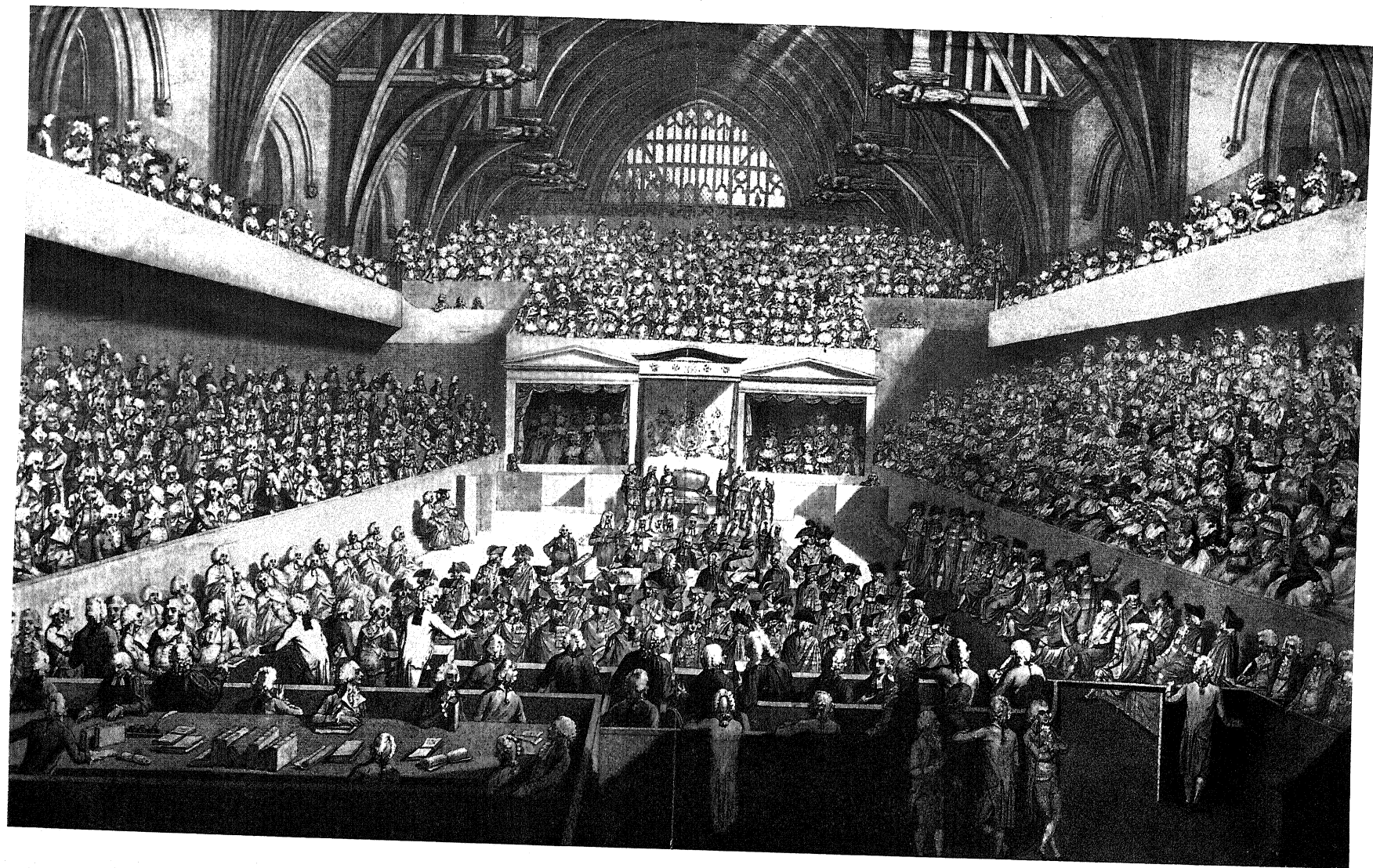
A Serjeant-at-Arms arose, and commanded silence in the Court, on pain of imprisonment.

Then some other officer,² in a loud voice, called out, as well as I can recollect, words to this purpose:—"Warren Hastings, Esquire, come forth! Answer to the charges brought against you; save your bail, or forfeit your recognizance!"

Indeed I trembled at these words, and hardly could keep my place when I found Mr. Hastings was being brought to the bar. He came forth from some place immediately under the Great Chamberlain's Box, and was preceded by Sir

¹ Other members were Hon. Andrew St. John, Viscount Maitland, Hon. A. Fitzherbert, Colonel Fitzpatrick, John Courtenay, A. Rogers, and Sir James Erskine.

² It was the Serjeant-at-Arms. "In old blunt English"—say the records—"he summoned 'Warren Hastings, Esq., to come forth in Court to save THEE AND THY BAIL, otherwise the recognisance of thou and thy bail will be forfeited'" (*History of the Trial*, etc., 1796, p. 2).



THE TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS, 1789
(See Sketch Plan at p. 409)

Francis Molyneux, Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod; and at each side of him walked his bail, Messrs. Sullivan and Sumner.

The moment he came in sight, which was not for full ten minutes after his awful summons, he made a low bow to the Chancellor and Court facing him. I saw not his face, as he was directly under me. He moved on slowly, and, I think, supported between his two bails, to the opening of his own box; there, lower still, he bowed again; and then, advancing to the bar, he leant his hands upon it, and dropped on his knees; but a voice in the same moment proclaiming he had leave to rise, he stood up almost instantaneously, and a third time profoundly bowed to the Court.¹

What an awful moment this for such a man!—a man fallen from such height of power to a situation so humiliating—from the almost unlimited command of so large a part of the Eastern World to be cast at the feet of his enemies, of the great Tribunal of his Country, and of the Nation at large, assembled thus in a body to try and to judge him! Could even his Prosecutors at that moment look on—and not shudder at least, if they did not blush?

The Crier, I think it was, made, in a loud and hollow voice, a public proclamation, "That Warren Hastings, Esquire, late Governor-General of Bengal, was now on his trial for high crimes and misdemeanors, with which he was charged by the Commons of Great Britain; and that all persons whatsoever who had aught to allege against him were now to stand forth."

A general silence followed, and the Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, now made his speech.² I will give

¹ "He seemed very infirm, and much indisposed. He was dressed in a plain poppy-coloured suit of clothes" (*History of the Trial*, etc., 1796, p. 2).

² Edward, first Baron Thurlow, 1731-1806.

it you to the best of my power from memory ; the newspapers have printed it far less accurately than I have retained it, though I am by no means exact or secure.¹

“Warren Hastings, you are now brought into this Court to answer to the charges brought against you by the Knights, Esquires, Burgesses, and Commons of Great Britain—charges now standing only as allegations, by them to be legally proved, or by you to be disproved. Bring forth your answers and defence, with that seriousness, respect, and truth, due to accusers so respectable. Time has been allowed you for preparation, proportioned to the intricacies in which the transactions are involved, and to the remote distances whence your documents may have been searched and required. You will still be allowed bail, for the better forwarding your defence, and whatever you can require will still be yours, of time, witnesses, and all things else you may hold necessary. This is not granted you as any indulgence : it is entirely your due : it is the privilege which every British subject has a right to claim, and which is due to every one who is brought before this high Tribunal.”

This speech, uttered in a calm, equal, solemn manner, and in a voice mellow and penetrating, with eyes keen and black, yet softened into some degree of tenderness while fastened full upon the prisoner—this speech, its occasion, its portent, and its object, had an effect upon every hearer of producing the most respectful attention, and, out of the Committee Box at least, the strongest emotions in the cause of Mr. Hastings.

Again Mr. Hastings made the lowest reverence

¹ Miss Burney's version differs from that in the *European Magazine* for February 1788, and in the *History of the Trial*, etc., 1796, though the sense is practically the same.

to the Court, and, leaning over the bar, answered, with much agitation, through evident efforts to suppress it, "My Lords—Impressed—deeply impressed—I come before your Lordships, equally confident in my own integrity, and in the justice of the Court before which I am to clear it."

"Impressed" and "deeply impressed," too, was my mind, by this short yet comprehensive speech, and all my best wishes for his clearance and redress rose warmer than ever in my heart.

A general silence again ensued, and then one of the Lawyers opened the cause. He began by reading from an immense roll of parchment the general charges against Mr. Hastings, but he read in so monotonous a chant that nothing more could I hear or understand than now and then the name of Warren Hastings.¹

During this reading, to which I vainly lent all my attention, Mr. Hastings, finding it, I presume, equally impossible to hear a word, began to cast his eyes around the House, and having taken a survey of all in front and at the sides, he turned about and looked up; pale looked his face—pale, ill, and altered. I was much affected by the sight of that dreadful harass which was written on his countenance. Had I looked at him without restraint, it could not have been without tears. I felt shocked, too, shocked and ashamed, to be seen by him in that place. I had wished to be present from an earnest interest in the business, joined to a firm confidence in his powers of defence; but *his* eyes were not those I wished to meet in Westminster Hall. I called upon Miss Gomme and

¹ Macaulay's account is different. "The reading," he says, "occupied two whole days, and was rendered less tedious than it would otherwise have been by the silver voice and just emphasis of Cowper, the clerk of the court, a near relative of the amiable poet" ("Warren Hastings," *Edinburgh Review*, October 1841). As a matter of fact, there were several reading clerks.

Charles to assist me in looking another way, and in conversing with me as I turned aside ; and I kept as much aloof as possible till he had taken his survey, and placed himself again in front.

From this time, however, he frequently looked round, and I was soon without a doubt that he must see me. Not very desirable to me, therefore, was a civility I next received from one of the managers,—one, too, placed in the front of the Committee, and in a line with the prisoner : it was Mr. Frederick Montagu,¹ who recognised and bowed to me. He is a most intimate friend of Mrs. Delany, and a man of excellence in all parts of his character save politics, and there he is always against the Administration ! Why will any man of principle join any party ? Why not be open to all, yet belong to none ?

Mr. Frederick Montagu looked so gloomy and uncomfortable that, but for the assistance of Lady Claremont, I should not have recollected him. At Mrs. Delany's he had seemed all gaiety and good humour. Lady Claremont herself remarked to me “that Mr. Montagu looked as if engaged in a business he did not approve.” If so, doubly is he censurable for adherence to opposition.

I hope Mr. Hastings did not see us ; but in a few minutes more, while this reading was still continued, I perceived Sir Joshua Reynolds in the midst of the Committee. He, at the same moment, saw me also, and not only bowed, but smiled and nodded with his usual good humour and intimacy, making at the same time a sign to his ear, by which I understood he had no trumpet ; whether he had forgotten or lost it I know not.

I would rather have answered all this dumb

¹ Frederick Montagu, 1733-1800, M.P. for Higham Ferrers, and formerly Lord of the Treasury.

show anywhere else, as my last ambition was that of being noticed from such a box. I again entreated aid in turning away; but Miss Gomme, who is a friend of Sir Gilbert Elliot, one of the Managers,¹ and an ill-wisher, for his sake, to the opposite cause, would only laugh, and ask why I should not be owned by them.

I did not, however, like it, but had no choice from my near situation; and in a few seconds I had again a bow, and a profound one, and again very ridiculously I was obliged to inquire of Lady Claremont who my own acquaintance might be. Mr. Richard Burke, senior, she answered. He is a brother of the Great—Great in defiance of all drawbacks—Edmund Burke.

Another lawyer now arose, and read so exactly in the same manner, that it was utterly impossible to discover even whether it was a charge or an answer.

Such reading as this, you may well suppose, set everybody pretty much at their ease; and but for the interest I took in looking from time to time at Mr. Hastings, and watching his countenance, I might as well have been away. He seemed composed after the first half-hour, and calm; but he looked with a species of indignant contempt towards his accusers, that could not, I think, have been worn had his defence been doubtful. Many there are who fear for him; for me, I own myself wholly confident in his acquittal.

Soon after, a voice just by my side, from the green benches, said, "Will Miss Burney allow me to renew my acquaintance with her?" I turned about and saw Mr. Crutchley.²

All Streatham rose to my mind at sight of him. I have never beheld him since the Streatham

¹ Sir Gilbert Elliot, 1751-1814, afterwards first Earl of Minto, and Governor-General of India.

² See vol. ii. p. 50.

society was abolished. We entered instantly upon the subject of that family, a subject ever to me the most interesting. He also had never seen poor Mrs. Thrale since her return to England; but he joined with me very earnestly in agreeing that, since so unhappy a step was now past recall, it became the duty, however painful a one, of the daughters to support, not cast off and contemn, one who was now as much their mother as when she still bore their own name.

"But how," cried he, "do you stand the fiery trial of this Streatham book that is coming upon us?"

I acknowledged myself very uneasy about it, and he assured me all who had ever been at Streatham were in fright and consternation.

We talked all these matters over more at length, till I was called away by an "How d'ye do, Miss Burney?" from the Committee Box! And then I saw young Mr. Burke, who had jumped up on the nearest form to speak to me.

Pleasant enough! I checked my vexation as well as I was able, since the least shyness on my part to those with whom formerly I had been social must instantly have been attributed to Court influence; and therefore, since I could not avoid the notice, I did what I could to talk with him as heretofore. He is besides so amiable a young man that I could not be sorry to see him again, though I regretted it should be just in that place, and at this time.

While we talked together, Mr. Crutchley went back to his more distant seat, and the moment I was able to withdraw from young Mr. Burke, Charles, who sat behind me, leant down and told me a gentleman had just desired to be presented to me.

"Who?" quoth I.

"Mr. Wyndham," he answered.¹

I really thought he was laughing, and answered accordingly ; but he assured me he was in earnest, and that Mr. Wyndham had begged him to make the proposition.

What could I do ? There was no refusing ; yet a planned meeting with another of the Committee, and one deep in the prosecution, and from whom one of the hardest charges has come—could anything be less pleasant as I was then situated ?

The Great Chamberlain's Box is the only part of the Hall that has any communication with either the Committee Box or the House of Commons, and it is also the very nearest to the Prisoner. Mr. Wyndham I had seen twice before—both times at Miss Monckton's ; and anywhere else I should have been much gratified by his desire of a third meeting, as he is one of the most agreeable, spirited, well-bred, and brilliant conversers I have ever spoken with. He is a neighbour, too, now, of Charlotte's.² He is member for Norwich, and a man of family and fortune, with a very pleasing though not handsome face, a very elegant figure, and an air of fashion and vivacity.

The conversations I had had with him at Miss Monckton's had been, wholly by his own means, extremely spirited and entertaining. I was sorry to see him make one of a set that appeared so inveterate against a man I believe so injuriously treated ; and my concern was founded upon the good thoughts I had conceived of him, not merely

¹ William Windham, 1750-1810, M.P. for Norwich, and friend of Johnson and Burke. As Windham often appears hereafter, Macaulay's vignette of him may be cited. "There, with eyes reverentially fixed on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age, his form developed by every manly exercise, his face beaming with intelligence and spirit, the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham" ("Warren Hastings," *Edinburgh Review*, October 1841).

² Aylsham, where Charlotte's husband lived, is not far from Windham's seat at Felbrigge Park, near Cromer. There is a picture of him by Lawrence in the National Portrait Gallery.

from his social talents, which are yet very uncommon, but from a reason dearer to my remembrance. He loved Dr. Johnson,—and Dr. Johnson returned his affection. Their political principles and connections were opposite, but Mr. Wyndham respected his venerable friend too highly to discuss any points that could offend him; and showed for him so true a regard, that, during all his late illnesses, for the latter part of his life, his carriage and himself were alike at his service, to air, visit, or go out, whenever he was disposed to accept them.

Nor was this all; one tender proof he gave of warm and generous regard, that I can never forget, and that rose instantly to my mind when I heard his name, and gave him a welcome in my eyes when they met his face: it is this: Dr. Johnson, in his last visit to Lichfield, was taken ill, and waited to recover strength for travelling back to town in his usual vehicle, a stage-coach;—as soon as this reached the ears of Mr. Wyndham, he set off for Lichfield in his own carriage, to offer to bring him back to town in it, and at his own time.

For a young man of fashion, such a trait towards an old, however dignified philosopher, must surely be a mark indisputable of an elevated mind and character; and still the more strongly it marked a noble way of thinking, as it was done in favour of a person in open opposition to all his own party, and declared prejudices.

Charles soon told me he was at my elbow. He had taken the place Mr. Crutchley had just left. The *abord* was, on my part, very awkward, from the distress I felt lest Mr. Hastings should look up, and from a conviction that I must not name that gentleman, of whom alone I could then think, to a person in a committee against him.

He, however, was easy, having no embarrassing

thoughts, since the conference was of his own seeking. 'Twas so long since I had seen him, that I almost wonder he remembered me.

After the first compliments he looked around him, and exclaimed, "What an assembly is this! How striking a *spectacle*! I had not seen half its splendour down there. You have it here to great advantage; you lose some of the Lords, but you gain all the Ladies. You have a very good place here."

"Yes; and I may safely say I make a very impartial use of it: for since here I have sat, I have never discovered to which side I have been listening!"

He laughed, but told me they were then running through the charges.

"And is it essential," cried I, "that they should so run them through that nobody can understand them? Is that a form of law?"

He agreed to the absurdity; and then, looking still at the *spectacle*, which indeed is the most splendid I ever saw, arrested his eyes upon the Chancellor. "He looks very well from hence," cried he; "and how well he acquits himself on these solemn occasions! With what dignity, what loftiness, what high propriety, he comports himself!"

This praise to the Chancellor, who is a known friend of Mr. Hastings, though I believe he would be the last to favour him unjustly now he is on trial, was a pleasant sound to my ear, and confirmed my original idea of the liberal disposition of my new associate.

I joined heartily in the commendation, and warmly praised his speech. "Even a degree of pompousness," cried I, "in such a Court as this, seems a propriety."

"Yes," said he; "but his speech had one word

that might as well have been let alone; 'mere allegations' he called the charges; the word 'mere,' at least, might have been spared, especially as it is already strongly suspected on which side he leans!"

I protested, and with truth, I had not heard the word in his speech;¹ but he still affirmed it. "Surely," I said, "he was as fair and impartial as possible: he called the accusers 'so respectable!'"

"Yes, but 'mere—mere' was no word for this occasion; and it could not be unguarded, for he would never come to speak in such a Court as this, without some little thinking beforehand. However, he is a fine fellow,—a very fine fellow! and though, in his private life, guilty of so many inaccuracies, in his public capacity I really hold him to be unexceptionable."

This fairness, from an oppositionist professed, brought me at once to easy terms with him.

I begged him to inform me for what reason, at the end of the Chancellor's speech, there had been a cry of "Hear! hear! hear him!" which had led me to expect another speech, when I found no other seemed intended.

He laughed very much, and confessed that, as a parliament man, he was so used to that absurdity, that he had ceased to regard it; for that it was merely a mark of approbation to a speech already spoken; "And, in fact, they only," cried he, "say Hear, when there is nothing more to be heard!"

Then, still looking at the scene before him, he suddenly laughed, and said, "I must not, to Miss Burney, make this remark, but—it is observable that in the *King's* Box sit the Hawkesbury family,"²

¹ The word "mere" does not occur in the Lord Chancellor's address as reported in the *History of the Trial*, etc., 1796, p. 2. He does, however, speak of "the charges alleged against you."

² Charles Jenkinson, first Baron Hawkesbury, and later first Earl of Liverpool, 1727-1808, President of the Board of Trade, 1786-1804, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1787-1803 (see vol. ii. p. 74).

while next to the *Speaker*, who is here as a sort of Representative of the King, sits Major Scot!"¹

I knew his inference, of Court influence in favour of Mr. Hastings, but I thought it best to let it pass quietly. I knew, else, I should only be supposed under the same influence myself.

Looking still on, he next noticed the two Archbishops. "And see," cried he, "the Archbishop of York, Markham,²—see how he affects to read the articles of impeachment, as if he was still open to either side! My good Lord Archbishop! your Grace might, with perfect safety, spare your eyes, for your mind has been made up upon this subject before ever it was investigated. He holds Hastings to be the greatest man in the world—for Hastings promoted the interest of his son in the East Indies!"

Somewhat sarcastic, this; but I had as little time as power for answering, since now, and suddenly, his eye dropped down upon poor Mr. Hastings: the expression of his face instantly lost the gaiety and ease with which it had addressed me; he stopped short in his remarks; he fixed his eyes steadfastly on this new, and but too interesting object, and after viewing him some time in a sort of earnest silence, he suddenly exclaimed, as if speaking to himself, and from an impulse irresistible—"What a sight is that! to see that man, that small portion of human clay, that poor feeble machine of earth, enclosed now in that little space, brought to that Bar, a prisoner in a spot six foot square—and to reflect on his late power! Nations at his command! Princes prostrate at his feet!—What a change! how must he feel it!—"

He stopped, and I said not a word. I was glad to see him thus impressed; I hoped it might soften his enmity. I found, by his manner, that

¹ See *post*, p. 427.

² See vol. ii. p. 158.

he had never, from the Committee Box, looked at him.

He broke forth again, after a pause of some length,—“Wonderful indeed! almost past credibility, is such a reverse! He that, so lately, had the Eastern World nearly at his beck; he, under whose tyrant power princes and potentates sunk and trembled; he, whose authority was without the reach of responsibility!——”

Again he stopped, seeming struck, almost beyond the power of speech, with meditative commiseration; but then, suddenly arousing himself, as if recollecting his “almost blunted purpose,” he passionately exclaimed, “O could those—the thousands, the millions, who have groaned and languished under the iron rod of his oppressions—could they but—whatever region they inhabit—be permitted one dawn of light to look into this Hall, and see him *there*! *There*—where he now stands—it might prove, perhaps, some recompense for their sufferings!”

I can hardly tell you, my dearest Susan, how shocked I felt at these words! words so hard, and following sensations so much more pitying and philosophic! I cannot believe Mr. Hastings guilty; I feel in myself a strong internal evidence of his innocence, drawn from all I have seen of him; I can only regard the prosecution as a party affair; but yet, since his adversaries now openly stake their names, fame, and character against him, I did not think it decent to intrude such an opinion. I could only be sorry, and silent.

Still he looked at him, earnest in rumination, and as if unable to turn away his eyes; and presently he again exclaimed, “How wonderful an instance of the instability of mortal power is presented in that object! From possessions so extensive, from a despotism so uncontrolled, to see

him now there, in that small circumference! In the history of human nature how memorable will be the records of this day! a day that brings to the great tribunal of the nation a man whose power, so short a time since, was of equal magnitude with his crimes!"

Good Heaven! thought I, and do you really believe all this? Can Mr. Hastings appear to you such a monster? and are you not merely swayed by party? I could not hear him without shuddering, nor see him thus in earnest without alarm. I thought myself no longer bound to silence, since I saw, by the continuance as well as by the freedom of his exclamations, he conceived me of the same sentiments with himself; and therefore I hardly resolved to make known to him that mistake, which, indeed, was a liberty that seemed no longer impertinent, but a mere act of justice and honesty.

His very expressive pause, his eyes still steadfastly fixed on Mr. Hastings, gave me ample opportunity for speaking; though I had some little difficulty how to get out what I wished to say. However, in the midst of his reverie, I broke forth, but not without great hesitation, and, very humbly, I said, "Could you pardon me, Mr. Wyndham, if I should forget, for a moment, that you are a Committee-man, and speak to you frankly?"

He looked surprised, but laughed at the question, and very eagerly called out, "Oh yes, yes, pray speak out, I beg it!"

"Well, then, may I venture to say to you, that I believe it utterly impossible for any one, not particularly engaged on the contrary side, ever to enter a court of justice, and not instantly, and involuntarily, wish well to the prisoner!"

His surprise subsided by this general speech, which I had not courage to put in a more pointed

way, and he very readily answered, "'Tis natural, certainly, and what must almost unavoidably be the first impulse ; yet, where justice——"

I stopped him ; I saw I was not comprehended, and thought else he might say something to stop me.

"May I," I said, "go yet a little farther?"

"Yes," cried he, with a very civil smile, "and I feel an assent beforehand."

"Supposing, then, that even you, if that may be supposed, could be divested of all knowledge of the particulars of this affair, and in the same state of general ignorance that I confess myself to be, and could then, like me, have seen Mr. Hastings make his entrance into this Court, and looked at him when he was brought to that bar ; not even you, Mr. Wyndham, could then have reflected on such a vicissitude for him, on all he has left and all he has lost, and not have given him, like me, all your best wishes the moment you beheld him."

The promised assent came not, though he was too civil to contradict me ; but still I saw he understood me only in a general sense. I feared going farther : a weak advocate is apt to be a mischievous one ; and, as I knew nothing, it was not to a professed enemy I could talk of what I only believed.

Recovering, now, from the strong emotion with which the sight of Mr. Hastings had filled him, he looked again around the Court, and pointed out several of the principal characters present, with arch and striking remarks upon each of them, all uttered with high spirit, but none with ill-nature.

"Pitt," cried he, "is not here !—a noble stroke that for the annals of his administration ! A trial is brought on by the whole House of Commons in a body, and he is absent at the very opening ! However," added he, with a very meaning laugh, "I'm glad of it, for 'tis to his eternal disgrace !"

Mercy ! thought I, what a friend to kindness is party !

"Do you see Scot ?"¹ cried he.

"No, I never saw him ; pray show him me."

"There he is, in green ; just now by the Speaker, now moved by the Committee ; in two minutes more he will be somewhere else, skipping backwards and forwards ; what a grasshopper it is !"

"I cannot look at him," cried I, "without recollecting a very extraordinary letter from him, that I read last summer in the newspaper, where he answers some attack that he says has been made upon him, because the term is used of 'a very insignificant fellow' ; and he printed two or three letters in the *Public Advertiser*, in following days, to prove, with great care and pains, that he knew it was all meant as an abuse of himself, from those words !"

"And what," cried he, laughing, "do you say to that notion now you see him."

"That no one," cried I, examining him with my glass, "can possibly dispute his claim !"

What pity that Mr. Hastings should have trusted his cause to so frivolous an agent ! I believe, and indeed it is the general belief, both of foes and friends, that to his officious and injudicious zeal the present prosecution is wholly owing.

Next, Mr. Wyndham pointed out Mr. Francis² to me. 'Tis a singular circumstance, that the friend who most loves and the enemy who most hates Mr. Hastings should bear the same name !³ Mr. Wyndham, with all the bias of party, gave me

¹ Major John Scott, afterwards Scott-Waring, 1747-1819, M.P. for West Looe. He had come to England in 1781 as the political agent of Hastings, "whose affairs he conducted with great industry, and small judgment, and whose impeachment was probably due to his injudicious zeal in his behalf" (*Dict. of Nat. Biography*).

² Philip Francis, afterwards Sir Philip, 1740-1818.

³ Fanny's brother-in-law, Clement Francis of Aylsham (see *ante*, p. 419).

then the highest character of this Mr. Francis, whom he called one of the most ill-used of men. Want of documents how to answer forced me to be silent, oppositely as I thought. But it was a very unpleasant situation to me, as I saw that Mr. Wyndham still conceived me to have no other interest than a common, and probably to his mind, a weak compassion for the prisoner—that prisoner who, frequently looking around, saw me, I am certain, and saw with whom I was engaged!

The subject of Mr. Francis again drew him back to Mr. Hastings, but with more severity of mind. “A prouder heart,” cried he, “an ambition more profound, were never, I suppose, lodged in any mortal mould than in that man! With what a port he entered! did you observe him? his air! I saw not his face, but his air! his port!”

“Surely there,” cried I, “he could not be to blame! He comes upon his defence; ought he to look as if he gave himself up?”

“Why, no; ’tis true he must look what vindication to himself he can; we must not blame him there.”

Encouraged by this little concession, I resolved to venture farther, and once more said, “May I again, Mr. Wyndham, forget that you are a *Committee-man*, and say something not fit for a *Committee-man* to hear?”

“Oh yes!” cried he, laughing very much, and looking extremely curious.

“I must fairly, then, own myself utterly ignorant upon this subject, and—and—may I go on?”

“I beg you will!”

“Well, then,—and originally prepossessed in favour of the object!”

He quite started, and with a look of surprise from which all pleasure was separated, exclaimed—
“Indeed!”

"Yes!" cried I, "'tis really true, and really out, now!"

"For Mr. Hastings, prepossessed!" he repeated, in a tone that seemed to say—do you not mean Mr. Burke?

"Yes," I said, "for Mr. Hastings! But I should not, to you, have presumed to own it just at this time,—so little as I am able to do honour to my prepossession by any materials to defend it,—but that you have given me courage, by appearing so free from all malignity in the business. 'Tis, therefore, your own fault!"

"But can you speak seriously," cried he, "when you say you know nothing of this business?"

"Very seriously: I never entered into it at all; it was always too intricate to tempt me."

"But, surely you must have read the charges?"

"No; they are so long, I had never the courage to begin."

The conscious look with which he heard this, brought—all too late—to my remembrance, that one of them was drawn up, and delivered in the House, by himself! I was really very sorry to have been so unfortunate; but I had no way to call back the words, so was quiet, perforce.

"Come, then," cried he, emphatically, "to hear Burke! come and listen to him, and you will be mistress of the whole! Hear Burke, and read the charges of the Begums, and then you will form your judgment without difficulty."

I would rather (thought I) hear him upon any other subject: but I made no answer; I only said, "Certainly, I can gain nothing by what is going forward to-day. I meant to come to the opening now, but it seems rather like the shutting up!"

He was not to be put off. "You will come, however, to hear Burke? To hear truth, reason,

justice, eloquence ! You will then see, in other colours, 'That Man !' There is more cruelty, more oppression, more tyranny, in that little machine, with an arrogance, a self-confidence, unexampled, unheard of."

"Indeed, sir !" cried I ; "that does not appear, to those who know him ; and—I—know him a little."

"Do you ?" cried he, earnestly ; "personally, do you know him ?"

"Yes ; and from that knowledge arose this prepossession I have confessed."

"Indeed ! what you have seen of him have you then so much approved ?"

"Yes, very much ! I must own the truth !"

"But you have not seen much of him ?"

"No, not lately. My first knowledge of him was almost immediately upon his coming from India : I had heard nothing of all these accusations ; I had never been in the way of hearing them, and knew not even that there were any to be heard. I saw him, therefore, quite without prejudice, for or against him ; and, indeed, I must own, he soon gave me a strong interest in his favour."

The surprise with which he heard me must have silenced me on the subject, had it not been accompanied with an attention so earnest as to encourage me still to proceed. It is evident to me that this Committee live so much shut up with one another, that they conclude all the world of the same opinions with themselves, and universally imagine that the tyrant they think themselves pursuing is a monster in every part of his life, and held in contempt and abhorrence by all mankind. Could I then be sorry, seeing this, to contribute my small mite towards clearing, at least, so very wide a mistake ? On the contrary, when I saw he listened, I was most eager to give him all I could to hear.

"I found him," I continued, "so mild, so gentle, so extremely pleasing in his manners——"

"Gentle?" cried he, with quickness.

"Yes, indeed; gentle, even to humility!"

"Humility? Mr. Hastings and humility!"

"Indeed it is true; he is perfectly diffident in the whole of his manner, when engaged in conversation; and so much struck was I, at that very time, by seeing him so simple, so unassuming, when just returned from a government that had accustomed him to a power superior to our monarchs here, that it produced an effect upon my mind in his favour which nothing can erase!"

"Oh yes, yes!" cried he, with great energy, "you will give it up! you must lose it, must give it up! it will be plucked away, rooted wholly out of your mind!"

"Indeed, sir," cried I, steadily, "I believe not!"

"You believe not?" repeated he, with added animation; "then there will be the more glory in making you a convert!"

If "conversion" is the word, thought I, I would rather make than be made.

"But, Mr. Wyndham," cried I, "all my amazement now is at your condescension in speaking to me upon this business at all, when I have confessed to you my total ignorance of the subject, and my original prepossession in favour of the object. Why do you not ask me when I was at the play? and how I liked the last opera?"

He laughed; and we talked on a little while in that strain, till again, suddenly fixing his eyes on poor Mr. Hastings, his gaiety once more vanished, and he gravely and severely examined his countenance. "'Tis surely," cried he, "an unpleasant one." He does not know, I suppose, 'tis reckoned like his own!

“How should he,” cried I, “look otherwise than unpleasant here?”

“True,” cried he; “yet still, I think his features, his look, his whole expression, unfavourable to him. I never saw him but once before; that was at the bar of the House of Commons; and there, as Burke admirably said, he looked, when first he glanced an eye against him, like a hungry tiger, ready to howl for his prey!”

“Well,” cried I, “I am sure he does not look fierce now! Contemptuous, a little, I think he does look!”

I was sorry I used this word; yet its truth forced it to escape me. He did not like it: he repeated it; he could not but be sure the contempt could only be levelled at his prosecutors. I feared discussion, and flew off as fast as I could, to softer ground. “It was not,” cried I, “with that countenance he gave me my prepossession! Very differently, indeed, he looked then!”

“And can he ever look pleasant? can that face ever obtain an expression that is pleasing?”

“Yes, indeed and in truth, and very pleasant! It was in the country I first saw him, and without any restraint on his part; I saw him, therefore, perfectly natural and easy. And no one, let me say, could so have seen him without being pleased with him; his quietness and serenity, joined to his intelligence and information——”

“His information?—In what way?”

“In such a way as suited his hearer: not upon committee business!—of all that I knew nothing. The only conversation in which I could mix was upon India, considered simply as a country in which he had travelled; and his communications upon the people, the customs, habits, cities, and whatever I could name, were so instructive as well as entertaining, that I think I never recollect gaining more

intelligence, or more pleasantly conveyed, from any conversation in which I ever have been engaged."

To this he listened with an attention that but for the secret zeal which warmed me must have silenced and shamed me. I am satisfied this committee have concluded Mr. Hastings a mere man of blood, with slaughter and avarice for his sole ideas! The surprise with which he heard this just testimony to his social abilities was only silent from good-breeding, but his eyes expressed what his tongue withheld; something that satisfied me he concluded I had undesignedly been duped by him.

I answered this silence by saying "There was no object for hypocrisy, for it was quite in retirement I met with him: it was not lately; it is near two years since I have seen him; he had therefore no point to gain with me, nor was there any public character, nor any person whatever, that could induce him to act a part; yet was he all I have said—informing, communicative, instructive, and at the same time gentle and highly pleasing."

He seemed now overpowered into something like believing me, and, in a voice of concession, said, "Certainly, from a man who has been in so great a station—from any man that has been an object of expectation—there is nothing so winning as gentleness of manners."

I cannot say how even this little speech encouraged me: I went on with fresh vigour. "Indeed," I cried, "I was myself so entirely surprised by that mildness, that I remember carrying my admiration of it even to his dress, which was a very plain green coat; and I asked the friend at whose house we met, when I saw his uniform simplicity, whether the Governor-General of Bengal had not had that coat made up before he went to the East, and upon putting it on again when he returned, had not lost all

memory of the splendour of the time and the scenes that had passed in the intermediate space."

"Well," said he, very civilly, "I begin the less to wonder, now, that you have adhered to his side; but——"

"To see him, then," cried I, stopping his *but*,—"to see him brought to that Bar! and *kneeling* at it!—indeed, Mr. Wyndham, I must own to you, I could hardly keep my seat—hardly forbear rising and running out of the Hall."

"Why, there," cried he, "I agree with you! 'Tis certainly a humiliation not to be wished or defended: it is, indeed, a mere ceremony, a mere formality; but it is a mortifying one, and so obsolete, so unlike the practices of the times, so repugnant from a gentleman to a gentleman, that I myself looked another way: it hurt me, and I wished it dispensed with."

"Oh, Mr. Wyndham," cried I, surprised and pleased, "and can you be so liberal?"

"Yes," cried he, laughing; "but 'tis only to take you in!"

Afterwards he asked what his coat was, whether blue or purple; and said, "Is it not customary for a prisoner to come in black?"¹

"Whether or not," quoth I, "I am heartily glad he has not done it; why should he seem so dismal, so shut out from hope?"

"Why, I believe he is in the right! I think he has judged that not ill."

"Oh, don't be so candid," cried I, "I beg you not."

"Yes, yes, I must; and you know the reason!" cried he, gaily; but presently exclaimed, "One unpleasant thing belonging to being a manager is that I must now go and show myself in the committee."

¹ See *ante*, p. 413.

And then he very civilly bowed, and went down to his box, leaving me much persuaded that I had never yet been engaged in a conversation so curious, from its circumstances, in my life. The warm well-wisher myself of the prisoner, though formerly the warmest admirer of his accuser, engaged, even at his trial, and in his presence, in so open a discussion with one of his principal prosecutors; and the Queen herself in full view, unavoidably beholding me in close and eager conference with an avowed member of opposition!

These circumstances made me at first enter into discourse with Mr. Wyndham with the utmost reluctance; but though I wished to shun him, I could not, when once attacked, decline to converse with him. It would but injure the cause of Mr. Hastings to seem to fear hearing the voice of his accusers; and it could but be attributed to undue Court influence had I avoided any intercourse with an acquaintance so long ago established as a member of the opposition.

Long since, indeed, when I considered with myself the accidents by which I might occasionally be thrown in the way of the Court adversaries, I formed this resolution:—To let them see no difference whatsoever in my behaviour, but to conduct myself uniformly amongst them, just as I had done formerly when I resided in St. Martin's Street.

I have the satisfaction to be now confirmed in this resolve, by having stated my situation with respect to this very conference to Mr. Smelt. Indeed, when once I had begun with Mr. Wyndham, and forced the barriers to our conference which rendered its opening distressing to me, I found myself impelled to proceed, not only by the vivacity with which he drew me on, and the unalterable good-humour and good-breeding with

which he encouraged me to open to him ; but by a pleasure past expression which I experienced, in the opportunity it gave me to speak favourably of a man so oppressed, to one of his oppressors. I soon saw Mr. Wyndham harboured no personal rancour : he was a stranger to the very person of Mr. Hastings, and wholly ignorant of his character in private and social life. I was happy in those points to be permitted to give him some intelligence, and I saw by the surprise with which he listened that he had imagined Mr. Hastings as mean in his parts and as disagreeable in his manners, as he believes him to be cruel in his nature and worthless in his principles.

How to account for the currency of these notions is past all conjecture ; but the whole truth must soon appear. Meanwhile, I see in Mr. Wyndham a man of a high and generous spirit, who considers himself as a friend of the public in bringing to justice and to punishment a public enemy.

In the midst of the opening of a trial such as this, so important to the country as well as to the individual who is tried, what will you say to a man—a member of the House of Commons—who kept exclaiming almost perpetually, just at my side, “What a bore!—when will it be over?—Must one come any more?—I had a great mind not to have come at all.—Who’s that?—Lady Hawkesbury and the Copes?—Yes. A pretty girl, Kitty.—Well, when will they have done?—I wish they’d call the question—I should vote it a bore at once!”

Just such exclamations as these were repeated, without intermission, till the gentleman departed : and who should it be that spoke with so much legislative wisdom but Mr. W—— !

In about two or three hours—this reading still

lasting—Mr. Crutchley came to me again. He, too, was so wearied, that he was departing; but he stayed some time to talk over our constant topic—my poor Mrs. Thrale. How little does she suspect the interest I unceasingly take in her—the avidity with which I seize every opportunity to gather the smallest intelligence concerning her!

One little trait of Mr. Crutchley, so characteristic of that queerness which distinguishes him, I must mention. He said he questioned whether he should come any more: I told him I had imagined the attendance of every member to be indispensable. “No,” cried he, “ten to one if another day they are able to make a house!”

“The Lords, however, I suppose, must come?”

“Not unless they like it.”

“But I hear if they do not attend they have no tickets.”

“Why, then, Miss Primrose and Miss Cowslip must stay away too!”

I had the pleasure to find him entirely for Mr. Hastings, and to hear he had constantly voted¹ on his side through every stage of the business. He is a very independent man, and a man of real good character, and, with all his oddity, of real understanding. We compared notes very amicably upon this subject, and both agreed that those who looked for every flaw in the conduct of a man in so high and hazardous a station, ought first to have weighed his merits and his difficulties.

A far more interesting conference, however, was now awaiting me. Towards the close of the day Mr. Wyndham very unexpectedly came again from the Committee Box, and seated himself by my side. I was glad to see by this second visit that my frankness had not offended him. He began, too,

¹ He was member for Horsham.

in so open and social a manner, that I was satisfied he forgave it.

"I have been," cried he, "very busy since I left you—writing—reading—making documents."

I saw he was much agitated; the gaiety which seems natural to him was flown, and had left in its place the most evident and unquiet emotion. I looked a little surprised, and rallying himself, in a few moments he inquired if I wished for any refreshment, and proposed fetching me some. But, well as I liked him *for a conspirator*, I could not *break bread* with him!

I thought now all was over of communication between us, but I was mistaken. He spoke for a minute or two upon the crowd—early hour of coming—hasty breakfasting, and such general nothings; and then, as if involuntarily, he returned to the sole subject on his mind. "Our plan," cried he, "is all changing: we have all been busy—we are coming into a new method. I have been making preparations—I did not intend speaking for a considerable time—not till after the circuit—but now, I may be called upon, I know not how soon."

Then he stopped—ruminating—and I let him ruminate without interruption for some minutes, when he broke forth into these reflections: "How strange, how infatuated a frailty has man with respect to the future! Be our views, our designs, our anticipations what they may, we are never prepared for it!—it always takes us by surprise—always comes before we look for it!"

He stopped; but I waited his explanation without speaking, and, after pausing thoughtfully some time, he went on:—

"This day—for which we have all been waiting so anxiously, so earnestly—the day for which we have fought, for which we have struggled—a day,

indeed, of national glory, in bringing to this great tribunal a delinquent from so high an office—this day, so much wished, has seemed to me, to the last moment, so distant, that now—now that it is actually arrived, it takes me as if I had never thought of it before—it comes upon me all unexpected, and finds me unready!”

Still I said nothing, for I did not fully comprehend him, till he added, “I will not be so affected as to say to you that I have made no preparation—that I have not thought a little upon what I have to do; yet now that the moment is actually come——”

Again he broke off; but a generous sentiment was bursting from him, and would not be withheld.

“It has brought me,” he resumed, “a feeling of which I am not yet quite the master! What I have said hitherto, when I have spoken in the house, has been urged and stimulated by the idea of pleading for the injured and the absent, and that gave me spirit. Nor do I tell you (with a half-conscious smile) that the ardour of the prosecution went for nothing—a prosecution in favour of oppressed millions! But now, when I am to speak here, the thought of that man, close to my side—culprit as he is—that man on whom all the odium is to fall—gives me, I own, a sensation that almost disqualifies me beforehand!”

Ah, Mr. Wyndham! thought I, with feelings so generous even where enmity is so strong, how came you ever engaged in so cruel, so unjust a cause?

I could almost suppose he saw me think this, though I uttered never a word; but it may be that a new set of reflections were pouring in upon him irresistibly, for he presently went on:—

“’Twas amazing to myself how I got into this business! I thought it at first inextricable,

but once begun—the glow of a public cause—a cause to support,—to revive, to redress helpless multitudes!”

“Oh, Mr. Wyndham!” cried I, “you chill me!”

“But surely,” cried he, “you cannot be an earnest advocate in such a cause?”

“I am so unwilling,” cried I, “to think so ill of it!”

“But is it possible Mr. Burke’s representations should have so little effect upon you?”

“I am the friend of Mr. Burke,” cried I, eagerly, “all the time! Mr. Burke has no greater admirer!—and that is precisely what disturbs me most in this business!”

“Well,” cried he, in a tone extremely good-humoured and soft, “I am then really sorry for you!—to be pulled two ways is of all things the most painful.”

“Indeed it is : and, in this very question, I wish so well one way, and have long thought so highly the other, that I scarce know, at times, what even to wish.”

“That doubt is, of all states, the worst : it will soon, however, be over ; you must be all one way the moment you have heard Burke.”

“I am not quite so sure of that!” cried I, boldly.

“No?” cried he, looking amazed at me.

“No, indeed! But if it seems strange to you that I should own this, you must impute it all to the want of that malignity which I cannot see in you!”

The odd civility of this speech, which was a literal truth, again brought back his gaiety, and he made some general comments upon the company and the place.

“What an assembly!” he cried ; “how brilliant,

how striking ! When I look around and think of speaking here—rank, nobility, talents, beauty.—Well, however, 'tis worth, and nobly worth, all our pains and our powers."

"Now again, Mr. Wyndham," cried I, "I am going to beg that you will forget that you are a Committee-man while I say something more to you."

"Surely !—I beg you will speak !"

"Well, supposing you out of the question, I cannot, as I sit here, look down upon those two Boxes, and not think it a little unfair—at least very hard—for Mr. Hastings to see on one side only fee'd hirelings,¹ and men little experienced and scarce at all known, and on the other almost all the talents of the nation ! Can that be fair ?"

"Oh yes," cried he, "have no apprehensions from that ! A lawyer, with his quirks and his quibbles, and his cross questions and examinations, will overset and master the ablest orator, unpractised in their ways."

I hoped there was some truth in this, and therefore accepted the consolation.

"That this day was ever brought about," continued he, "must ever remain a noble memorial of courage and perseverance in the Commons. Every possible obstacle has been thrown in our way—every art of Government has been at work to impede us—nothing has been left untried to obstruct us—every check and clog of power and influence."

"Not by him," cried I, looking at poor Mr. Hastings ; "he has raised no impediments—he has been wholly careless."

"Come," cried he with energy, "and hear Burke !

¹ The "fee'd hirelings" were Mr. Law, Mr. Plumer, and Mr. Dallas. Law and Dallas were afterwards Chief Justices ; Plumer became Vice-Chancellor and Master of the Rolls.

—Come but and hear him!—’tis an eloquence irresistible!—a torrent that sweeps all before it with the force of a whirlwind! It will cure you, indeed, of your prepossession, but it will give you truth and right in its place. What discoveries has he not made!—what gulfs has he not dived into! Come and hear him, and your conflict will end!”

I could hardly stand this, and, to turn it off, asked him if Mr. Hastings was to make his own defence?

“No,” he answered, “he will only speak by counsel. But do not regret that, for his own sake, as he is not used to public speaking, and has some impediment in his speech besides. He writes wonderfully—there he shines—and with a facility quite astonishing. Have you ever happened to see any of his writings?”

“No: only one short account, which he calls *Memoirs* relative to some India transactions, and that struck me to be extremely unequal—in some places strong and finely expressed, in others obscure and scarce intelligible.”¹

“That is just the case—that ambiguity runs through him in everything. Burke has found an admirable word for it in the Persian tongue, for which we have no translation, but it means an intricacy involved so deep as to be nearly unfathomable—an artificial entanglement.”

Then he spoke the original word, but I do not presume to write Persian.

I took this occasion to mention to him his friend Dr. Johnson, in observing how little lenity he ever had to more words than matter. He looked with a respectful attention when I named that honoured name, that gratified my own respect for it. He then said he must be gone, and show himself again in the committee.

¹ See *ante*, p. 188.

I inquired how it was all to end—whether this reading was to continue incessantly, or any speaking was to follow it?

“I have not inquired how that is,” he answered, “but I believe you will now soon be released.”

“And will the Chancellor speak to adjourn?”

“I cannot tell what the form may be, or how we are to be dissolved. I think myself there is nothing more difficult than how to tell people they may go about their business. I remember, when I was in the militia, it was just what I thought the most awkward, when I had done with my men. Use gives one the habit; and I found, afterwards, there was a regular mode for it: but, at first, I found it very embarrassing how to get rid of them.”

Nothing excites frankness like frankness; and I answered him in return with a case of my own. “When first I came to my present residence I was perpetually,” I said, “upon the point of making a blunder with the Queen; for when, after she had honoured me with any conversation, she used to say, ‘Now I won’t keep you—now I will detain you no longer,’ I was always ready to answer, ‘Ma’am, I am in no haste!—ma’am, I don’t wish to go!’ for I was not, at first, aware that it was only her mode of dismissing people from her presence.”

Again he was going: but glancing his eyes once more down upon Mr. Hastings, he almost sighed—he fetched, at least, a deep breath, while he exclaimed with strong emotion, “What a place for a man to stand in to hear what he has to hear!—’tis almost too much!”

What pity, my Susan and my Fredy, that a man who could feel such impulsive right in the midst of party rage, should bow down to any party, and not abide by such impulse!

It would not be easy to tell you how touching

at such a time was the smallest concession from an avowed opponent, and I could not help exclaiming again, "Oh, Mr. Wyndham, you must not be so liberal!"

"Oh!" cried he, smiling, and recovering himself, "'tis all the deeper malice, only to draw you in!"

Still, however, he did not go: he kept gazing upon Mr. Hastings till he seemed almost fascinated to the spot; and presently after, growing more and more open in his discourse, he began to talk to me of Sir Elijah Impey.¹ I presume my dearest friends, little as they hear of politics and state business, must yet know that the House of Commons is threatening Sir Elijah with an impeachment, to succeed that of Mr. Hastings, and all upon East India transactions of the same date.

When he had given me his sentiments upon this subject, which I had heard with that sort of quietness that results from total ignorance of the matter, joined to total ignorance of the person concerned, he drew a short comparison, which nearly, from him, and at such a moment, drew the tears from my eyes—*nearly*, do I say?—indeed more than that!

"Sir Elijah," cried he, "knows how to go to work, and by getting the lawyers to side with him professionally, has set about his defence in the most artful manner. He is not only wicked, but a very pitiful fellow. Let him but escape fine or imprisonment, and he will pocket all indignity, and hold himself happy in getting off: but Hastings (again looking steadfastly at him)—Hastings has feeling—'tis a proud feeling, an ambitious feeling—but feeling he has! Hastings—come to him what

¹ Sir Elijah Impey, 1732-1809, Chief Justice of Bengal, 1774-89. He was impeached in the House of Commons, but defended himself successfully, and the charges were dropped.

may—fine, imprisonment, whatsoever is inflicted—all will be nothing. The moment of his punishment—I think it, upon my honour!—was the moment that brought him to that Bar!”

When he said, “I think it, upon my honour,” he laid his hand on his breast, as if he implied, “I acquit him henceforward.”

Poor Mr. Hastings! One generous enemy he has at least, who pursues him with public fate, but without personal malignity! yet, sure I feel he can deserve neither!

I did not spare to express my sense of this liberality from a foe; for, indeed, the situation I was in, and the sight of Mr. Hastings, made it very affecting to me. He was affected, too, himself; but presently, rising, he said with great quickness, “I must shake all this off; I must have done with it—dismiss it—forget that he is there.”

“Oh, no,” cried I, earnestly, “do not forget it!”

“Yes, yes; I must.”

“No, *remember* it rather,” cried I; “I could almost (putting up my hands as if praying) do thus; and then, like poor Mr. Hastings just now to the house, drop down on my knees to you, to call out ‘*Remember it.*’”

“Yes, yes,” cried he precipitately, “how else shall I go on? I *must* forget that *He* is there, and that *you* are here.”

And then he hurried down to his Committee.

Was it not a most singular scene?

I had afterwards to relate great part of this to the Queen herself. She saw me engaged in such close discourse, and with such apparent interest on both sides, with Mr. Wyndham, that I knew she must else form conjectures innumerable. So candid, so liberal is the mind of the Queen, that she not only heard me with the most favourable

attention towards Mr. Wyndham, but was herself touched even to tears by the relation.

You, my beloved friends, absent from the scene of action, and only generally interested in it, can form no idea of the warmth you would feel upon the subject, were you here, and in the midst of it.

We stayed but a short time after this last conference; for nothing more was attempted than reading on the charges and answers, in the same useless manner.

The interest of this trial was so much upon my mind that I have not kept even a memorandum of what passed from the 13th of February to the day when I went again to Westminster Hall; nor, except renewing the Friday Oratorios¹ with Mrs. Ord, do I recollect one circumstance.

The second time that the Queen, who saw my wishes, indulged me with one of her tickets, and a permission of absence for the Trial, was to hear Mr. Burke, for whom my curiosity and my interest stood the highest.

One ticket, however, would not do; I could not go alone, and the Queen had bestowed all her other tickets before she discovered that this was a day in my particular wishes. She entered into my perplexity with a sweetness the most gracious; and when I knew not how to obviate it, commanded me to write to the Duchess of Ancaster, and beg permission to be put under the wing of her Grace, or any of her friends that were going to the Hall.

The Duchess, unluckily, did not go, from indisposition, nor any of her family; but she sent me a very obliging letter, and another ticket from Sir Peter Burrell, to use for a companion.

I fixed upon James, who, I knew, wished to

¹ See *ante*, p. 216.

hear Mr. Burke for once, and we went together very comfortably, and spent near three hours in a more social conversation, after we were seated in the Chamberlain's Box, than we had enjoyed since I quitted my home.

When the Managers, who, as before, made the first procession, by entering their Box below us, were all arranged, one from among them, whom I knew not, came up into the seats of the House of Commons by our side, and said, "Captain Burney, I am very glad to see you."

"How do you do, sir?" answered James; "here I am, come to see the fine show."

Upon this the attacker turned short upon his heel, and abruptly walked away, descending into the Box, which he did not quit any more.

I inquired who he was; General Burgoyne, James told me.¹ "A Manager!" cried I, "and one of the chargers! and you treat the business of the Hall with such contempt to his face!"

James laughed heartily at his own uncourtly address, but would not repent, though he acknowledged he saw the offence his slight and slighting speech had given.

Fearful lest he should proceed in the same style with my friend Mr. Wyndham, I kept as aloof as possible, to avoid his notice, entreating James at the same time to have the complaisance to be silent upon this subject, should he discover me and approach. My own sentiments were as opposite to those of the Managers as his, and I had not scrupled to avow honestly my dissent; but I well knew Mr. Wyndham might bear, and even respect, from a female, the same openness of opposition that might be highly offensive to him from a man. But I could obtain no positive promise; he would

¹ John Burgoyne (see vol. i. p. 317). He died before the conclusion of the trial.

only compromise with my request, and agree not to speak unless applied to first. This, however, contented me; as Mr. Wyndham was too far embarked in his undertaking to solicit any opinion upon it from accidentally meeting any common acquaintance.

From young Burke and his uncle Richard I had bows from the Committee Box. Mr. Wyndham either saw me not, or was too much engaged in business to ascend.

At length the Peers' procession closed, the Prisoner was brought in, and Mr. Burke began his speech. It was the second day of his harangue; the first I had not been able to attend.¹

All I had heard of his eloquence, and all I had conceived of his great abilities, was more than answered by his performance. Nervous, clear, and striking was almost all that he uttered: the main business, indeed, of his coming forth was frequently neglected, and not seldom wholly lost; but his excursions were so fanciful, so entertaining, and so ingenious, that no miscellaneous hearer, like myself, could blame them. It is true he was unequal, but his inequality produced an effect which, in so long a speech, was perhaps preferable to greater consistency, since, though it lost attention in its falling off, it recovered it with additional energy by some ascent unexpected and wonderful. When he narrated, he was easy, flowing, and natural; when he declaimed, energetic, warm, and brilliant. The sentiments he interspersed were as nobly conceived as they were highly coloured; his satire had a poignancy of wit that made it as entertaining as it was penetrating; his allusions and quotations, as far as they were English and within my reach, were

¹ Burke began his speech on the third day of the Trial, Friday, February 15; he resumed it on the fourth day, Saturday, February 16. It was on this occasion that he referred to "geographical morality" (see *post*, p. 467).

apt and ingenious ; and the wild and sudden flights of his fancy, bursting forth from his creative imagination in language fluent, forcible, and varied, had a charm for my ear and my attention wholly new and perfectly irresistible.

Were talents such as these exercised in the service of truth, unbiassed by party and prejudice, how could we sufficiently applaud their exalted possessor ? But though frequently he made me tremble by his strong and horrible representations, his own violence recovered me, by stigmatising his assertions with personal ill-will and designing illiberality. Yet at times, I confess, with all that I felt, wished, and thought concerning Mr. Hastings, the whirlwind of his eloquence nearly drew me into its vortex. I give no particulars of the speech, because they will all be printed.

The observations and whispers of our keen as well as honest James, during the whole, were highly characteristic and entertaining. "When will he come to the point ?"—"These are mere words !"—"This is all sheer detraction !"—"All this is nothing to the purpose !" etc. etc.

"Well, ma'am, what say you to all this ? how have you been entertained ?" cried a voice at my side ; and I saw Mr. Crutchley, who came round to speak to me.

"Entertained ?" cried I, "indeed, not at all ; it is quite too serious and too horrible for entertainment : you ask after my amusement as if I were at an opera or a comedy."

"A comedy ?" repeated he, contemptuously ; "no, a farce ; 'tis not high enough for a comedy. To hear a man rant such stuff. But you should have been here the first day he spoke ; this is milk and honey to that. He said then, 'His heart was as black—as—black !' and called him the Captain-general of iniquity."

"Hush ! hush !" cried I, for he spoke very loud ; "that young man you see down there, who is looking up, is his son !"

"I know it," cried he, "and what do I care ?"

How I knew Mr. Crutchley again, by his ready talent of defiance, and disposition to contempt ! We agreed, however, precisely in our serious opinions, though we differed in various modifications of them ; and so we ever did, if I may say so, when I add that I never knew him, in any essential point, vary from the strictest honour in every notion he ever uttered. He is, indeed, a singular character ; good, upright, generous, yet rough, unpolished, whimsical, and fastidious ; believing all women at his service for the sake of his estates, and disbelieving any would accept him for any other reason. He wrongs both them and himself by this conclusion.

I was very glad to meet with him again ; I have always had an esteem for his worth, and he had spent so much time with me in a place I once so much loved, that it was soothing and pleasant to me to talk that and its inhabitants over with him.

I was called aside from him by James, to Samuel Rose,¹ who was in the back of the Chamberlain's Box, and so much formed and settled since I saw him, that I did not know him.

During this recollection scene Mr. Crutchley retired, and Mr. Wyndham quitted his den, and approached me, with a smile of good-humour and satisfaction that made me instantly exclaim, "No exultation, Mr. Wyndham, no questions ; don't ask me what I think of the speech ; I can bear no triumph just now."

"No, indeed," cried he very civilly, "I will not, I promise you, and you may depend upon me."

¹ Son of Dr. Rose of Chiswick, Charles Burney's father-in-law (see vol. ii. p. 215).

He then spoke to James, regretting with much politeness that he had seen so little of him when he was his neighbour in Norfolk, and attributing it to the load of India business he had carried into the country to study. I believe I have mentioned that Felbrig, Mr. Wyndham's seat,¹ is within a few miles of my brother-in-law, Mr. Francis's house at Aylsham.

After this, however, ere we knew where we were, we began commenting upon the speech. It was impossible to refuse applause to its able delivery and skilful eloquence; I, too, who so long had been amongst the warmest personal admirers of Mr. Burke, could least of all withhold from him the mite of common justice. In talking over the speech, therefore, while I kept clear of its purpose, I gave to its execution the amplest praise; and I secretly grieved that I held back more blame than I had commendation to bestow.

He had the good breeding to accept it just as I offered it, without claiming more, or endeavouring to entangle me in my approbation. He even checked himself, voluntarily, when he was asking me some question of my conversion, by stopping short, and saying, "But, no, it is not fair to press you; I must not do that."

"You cannot," cried I, "press me too much, with respect to my admiration of the ability of the speaker; I never more wished to have written shorthand. I must content myself, however, that I have at least a long memory."

He regretted very much that I had missed the first opening of the speech, and gave me some account of it, adding, I might judge what I had lost then by what I had heard now.

I frankly confessed that the two stories which

¹ At Felbrigge Park (see *ante*, p. 419), now belonging to Mr. R. W. Ketton, there are many relics of the Windhams.

Mr. Burke had narrated had nearly overpowered me; they were pictures of cruelty so terrible.

"But General Caillot," cried he, smiling, "the hero of one of them,¹ you would be tempted to like: he is as mild, as meek, as gentle in his manners——"

I saw he was going to say, "As your Mr. Hastings"; but I interrupted him hastily, calling out, "Hush! hush! Mr. Wyndham! would you wish me in future to take to nothing but lions?"

He laughed, but gave up the comparison, and only pointed out to me *his* Mr. Francis, with a very warm *éloge* on his deserts, and an animated reprobation of the ill-usage he had met with in his own country; finishing with an exclamation against the "*unwilling gratitude of base mankind.*"

"How admirably," he continued, "did Burke introduce that quotation from Horace! I must not presume to translate Latin to you, but——"

I assured him of his mistake, and he proceeded in his explanation. It was apropos to the report that the Begums themselves had thanked Mr. Hastings for his services to them; but they were thanks, he said, such as these: "You have taken from us everything—light, food, and raiment—*leave* us, however; *go*, and we yet will *thank* you."

I told him it reminded me of a speech in the *Old Woman's Magazine*, where a poor gentleman, during the time that the women all wore immense hoops, was beat about so unmercifully in the streets that he exclaimed, "Pray, ladies, let me but make interest to walk in the kennel."

We then went into various other particulars of the speech, till Mr. Wyndham observed that Mr. Hastings was looking up, and, after examining him some time, said he did not like his countenance.

¹ John Caillaud, *d.* 1810, served in India from 1753 to 1775, and was a Brigadier-General in 1763.

I could have told him that he is generally reckoned extremely like himself; but after such an observation I would not venture, and only said, "Indeed, he is cruelly altered; it was not so he looked when I conceived for him that prepossession I have owned to you."

"Altered, is he?" cried he, biting his lips and looking somewhat shocked.

"Yes, and who can wonder? Indeed, it is quite affecting to see him sit there to hear such things."

"I did not see him," cried he, eagerly; "I did not think it right to look at him during the speech, nor from the Committee-Box; and, therefore, I constantly kept my eyes another way."

I had a great inclination to beg he would recommend a little of the same decency to some of his colleagues, among whom are three or four that even stand on the benches to examine him, during the severest strictures, with opera-glasses.

Looking at him again now, myself, I could not see his pale face and haggard eye without fresh concern, nor forbear to exclaim, "Indeed, Mr. Wyndham, this is a dreadful business!"

He seemed a little struck with this exclamation; and, lest it should offend him, I hastened to add, in apology, "You look so little like a bloody-minded prosecutor, that I forgot I ought not to say these things to you."

"Oh!" cried he, laughing, "we are only prosecutors there (pointing to the Committee-Box); we are at play up here."

But afterwards, with more seriousness, he spoke of my conversion as of a thing indispensable; and, to soften its difficulty, he added, "To give up a favourable opinion is certainly always painful; but here—if admiration is so pleasant to you—you need not part with it; you have but to make a transfer," pointing to Mr. Burke.

"I have no occasion for such a transfer," said I, "to admire Mr. Burke, for he has long had my warmest admiration; I was even, originally, almost bewitched by him."

"I know it," cried he, with great quickness; but whether his knowledge arose from what had dropped from myself, or what he had heard from others, he did not explain.

"But the prepossession *there*," he continued, looking at Mr. Hastings, "cannot be so hard to root out; it cannot be of long standing. Pluck it out; pluck it out at once."

"Will you, can you pardon me," cried I, "if I venture to say that I—who am not of that Committee—must wait, ere I change, to hear what may come from the other side?"

These were rather bold words; but he politely assented, though with a conscious sort of smile that seemed to say, "You will not, then, take our words?"

Here we dropped the discussion.

I wished much to know when he was himself to speak, and made sundry inquiries relative to the progress of the several harangues, but all without being comprehended, till at length I cried, "In short, Mr. Wyndham, I want to know when everybody speaks."

He started, and cried with precipitancy, "Do you mean me?"

"Yes."

"No, I hope not; I hope you have no wants about my miserable speaking?"

I only laughed, and we talked for some time of other things; and then, suddenly, he burst forth with, "But you have really made me a little uneasy by what you dropped just now."

"And what was that?"

"Something like an intention of hearing me."

"Oh, if that depended wholly on myself, I should certainly do it."

"No, I hope not! I would not have you here on any account. If you have formed any expectations, it will give me great concern."

"Pray don't be uneasy about that; for whatever expectations I may have formed, I had much rather have them disappointed."

"Ho, ho!—you come, then," cried he, pointedly, "to hear me, by way of soft ground to rest upon, after the hard course you will have been run with these higher-spirited speakers?"

As I could not agree to this, it led to a discourse upon public speaking, in which he told me that, "in his little essays" in the House of Commons, the very sound of his own voice almost stopped and confounded him; and the first moment he heard nothing else, he felt quite lost, quite gone! He was remiss, he owned, to himself, in not practising it more, especially now, where an harangue of such importance was impending; but added that he generally lost the opportunity before he acquired the resolution.

"Oh," cried I, "you will do very well,—I am afraid!"

He could not but laugh; yet continued to regret that everything now was so hastened on, he should not be at all prepared for the enterprise.

"Perhaps," cried I, "that may be all the better—the worse, I mean!—for my wishes! When there is anything to come out, I fancy it is commonly with a happier effect from the spur of surprise and hurry than from time and study."

"That may be true in general, and I believe it is, when there is anything to come!—Here, however, something of previous thought is absolutely necessary: mere facts will not do, where an audience is so mixed and miscellaneous; some

other ingredients are indispensably requisite, in order to seize and secure attention."

"They will all come! and the more, perhaps, for a little agitation, and surely with greater power and effect: for where there is sufficient study for all the rules to be strictly observed, I should think there must be an air of something so practised, so artificial, as rather to harden than affect the hearts of the hearers. When the facts are once stated, I cannot but suppose they must have much more force where followed only by unstudied arguments, and by comments rising at the moment, than by any laboured preparations; and have far more chance of making a deep impression, because more natural and more original."

He allowed there might be truth in this, but seemed too diffident of his powers to trust them to the impulse of the moment in such an assembly. However, he talked over the point very openly, and told me he believed *Irony* the ablest weapon of oratory.

He desired me not to fail to come and hear Fox. My chances, I told him, were very uncertain, and Friday was the earliest of them. "He speaks on Thursday," cried he, "and indeed you should hear him."

"Thursday is my worst chance of all," I answered, "for it is the court-day."

"And is there no dispensation?" cried he; and then, recollecting himself, and looking very archly at Mr. Fox, who was just below us, he added, "No,—true—not for him!"

"Not for anybody!" cried I; "on a court-day my attendance is as necessary, and I am dressed out as fine, and almost as stiff, as those heralds are here."

I then told him what were my Windsor days, and begged he would not seize one of them to speak himself.

"By no means," cried he, quite seriously, "would I have you here!—stay away, and only let me hope for your good wishes."

"I shall be quite sincere," cried I, laughing, "and own to you that stay away I shall not, if I can possibly come; but as to my good wishes, I have not, in this case, one to give you!"

He heard this with a start that was almost a jump. "What!" he exclaimed; "would you lay me under your judgment without your mercy?—Why, this is heavier than any penal statute!"

He spoke this with an energy that made Mr. Fox look up, to see to whom he addressed his speech: but before I could answer it, poor James, tired of keeping his promised circumspection, advanced his head to join the conversation; and so much was I alarmed lest he should burst forth into some unguarded expression of his vehement hatred to the cause, which could not but have irritated its prosecutors, that the moment I perceived his motion and intention, I abruptly took my leave of Mr. Wyndham, and surprised poor James into a necessity of following me.

Indeed I was now most eager to depart, from a circumstance that made me feel infinitely awkward. Mr. Burke himself was just come forward, to speak to a lady a little below me; Mr. Wyndham had instantly turned towards me, with a look of congratulation that seemed rejoicing for me, that the orator of the day, and of the cause, was approaching; but I retreated involuntarily back, and shirked meeting his eyes. He perceived in an instant the mistake he was making, and went on with his discourse as if Mr. Burke was out of the Hall. In a minute, however, Mr. Burke himself saw me, and he bowed with the most marked civility of manner; my courtesy was the most ungrateful, distant, and cold; I could not do otherwise; so hurt I felt to

see him the head of such a cause, so impossible I found it to utter one word of admiration for a performance whose nobleness was so disgraced by its tenour, and so conscious was I the whole time that at such a moment to say nothing must seem almost an affront, that I hardly knew which way to look, or what to do with myself. How happy and how proud would any distinction from such a man have made me, had he been engaged in a pursuit of which I could have thought as highly as I think of the abilities with which he has conducted it!

In coming downstairs I met Lord Walsingham and Sir Lucas Pepys. "Well, Miss Burney," cried the first, "what say you to a Governor-General of India now?"

"Only this," cried I, "that I do not dwell much upon any question till I have heard its answer!"

Sir Lucas then attacked me too. All the world against poor Mr. Hastings, though without yet knowing what his materials may be for clearing away these aspersions!

PART XXXII

1788

Hastings' trial—The Queen and Hannah More—Westminster Hall—Cabal and dispute—Mr. Wyndham—Burke's great speech—Fox's great speech—Character of his style—Liberality of Wyndham—Mrs. Crewe—Conversation with Burke—Geographical morality—Curiosity—Commentary on Burke's speech—Its vague declamation and personal malice—Fox's speech—Its factitious character—Its vehemence—Wyndham's opinion of Pitt's public speaking—Molière's old woman—Senatorial licence—Wyndham's admiration of Johnson—Reminiscences of Streatham—Lost time—Sheridan—Conversation with him—Return to Windsor—Sir Joseph Banks—His shyness—Mrs. Gwyn—Bunbury the caricaturist recollections—Death of Mrs. Delany—Her last hours—Her piety and resignation—Grief at her loss—Generosity of the Queen—Mrs. Delany's will—Visits of condolence—Mrs. Ord—Miss Cambridge—Death of Mr. Lightfoot—Jacob Bryant—Mr. Turbulent—Mr. Wyndham and *Evelina*—Michael Angelo Taylor—Dr. Johnson and Boswell—The *Probationary Odes*—Wyndham and Hastings—Reflections on the trial—Attack and reply—Personalities of Pitt as a speaker—Personal resemblance between Wyndham and Warren Hastings—Mutual compliments of public speakers—The Handel commemoration—Lord and Lady Mulgrave—Dr. Monsey—The *Paston Letters*—Visit to Egham races—Mr. Crutchley—Mr. Turbulent—Madame Krumpholtz—Mr. Murphy.

VERY concise will be my accounts till I come again to the trial, to relate my third time of being at Westminster Hall.

The Queen most graciously, in the meanwhile, made me a present of all the charges and answers

as they had been printed for the Lords at the opening, when certainly my hearing had not made them very familiar to me.

I have read them with great eagerness, and cannot but feel added curiosity and earnestness for the proofs which alone can balance accounts between assertions so bold and contradictions so positive. When you read them, my dearest friends, whatever parts you pass over lightly, do not fail to read entirely the conclusion of the defence. You will find it extremely touching, yet manly, undaunted, and high-minded, drawn up with equal consciousness of superior abilities, unrequited services, and injured honour.

The Queen also proposed to me that I should go to the new opera with my father and my little sister Sarah, who stands mighty well here, from her very pretty performance in painting me a birthday trimming.¹

The Queen lent me, too, the new book of Miss More's, which was just published, *The Influence on Society of the Manners of the Great*.² Have you read it? The design is very laudable, and speaks a mind earnest to promote religion and its duties; but it sometimes points out imperfections almost unavoidable, with amendments almost impracticable.

Her Majesty at this time was a little indisposed, and we missed going to Windsor for a fortnight, during which I received visits of inquiry from divers of her ladies—Mrs. Brudenell, Bed-chamber Woman; Miss Brudenell, her daughter, and a Maid of Honour elect, would but one of that class please to marry or die; Mrs. Tracy, Miss Ariana

¹ See *ante*, p. 356.

² Hannah More's book, which was anonymous, was entitled *Thoughts on the Importance of the Manners of the Great to General Society*, 1788. Mme. La Fite translated it into French. It was highly successful, and in January 1789 the author was correcting a seventh edition (*Memoirs*, 1834, ii. 139).

Egerton, Mrs. Herbert, all likewise Bed-chamber Women (Mrs. Fielding and her daughters are still in Paris); Miss Tryon and Miss Beauclerk, Maids of Honour, neither of them in a fair way to oblige Miss Brudenell, being nothing approaching to death, though far advanced from marriage; and various others; with good Lady Effingham continually.

Miss Brudenell's only present hope is said to be in Miss Fuzilier,¹ who is reported, with what foundation I know not, to be likely to become Mrs. Fairly. She is pretty, learned, and accomplished; yet, from the very little I have seen of her, I should not think she had heart enough to satisfy Mr. Fairly, in whose character the leading trait is the most acute sensibility. However, I have heard he has disclaimed all such intention, with high indignation at the report, as equally injurious to the delicacy both of Miss Fuzilier and himself, so recently after his loss.

And now for my third Westminster Hall,² which, by the Queen's own indulgent order, was with dear Charlotte and Sarah.

It was also to hear Mr. Fox, and I was very glad to let Mr. Wyndham see a "dispensation" was attainable, though the cause was accidental, since the Queen's cold prevented the drawing-room.

We went early, yet did not get very good places. The Managers at this time were all in great wrath at a decision made the night before by the Lords, upon a dispute between them and the Counsel for Mr. Hastings, which turned entirely in favour of the latter.³ When they entered their Committee-

¹ "Miss Fuzilier" is Miss Burney's name (see vol. ii. p. 382) for Miss Charlotte Margaret Gunning, the eldest daughter of Sir Robert Gunning, Bart.

² Friday, February 22.

³ It had been the desire of the Managers for the Commons "to proceed, article by article, to adduce evidence to substantiate each charge, then to hear the prisoner's evidence and defence, and afterwards to be at liberty to reply." On February 21 the Lords divided on this proposition, and

Box, led on as usual by Mr. Burke, they all appeared in the extremest and most angry emotion.

When they had caballed together some time, Mr. Wyndham came up among the Commons, to bow to some ladies of his acquaintance, and then to speak to me ; but he was so agitated and so disconcerted, he could name nothing but their recent provocation from the Lords. He seemed quite enraged, and broke forth with a vehemence I should not much have liked to have excited. They had experienced, he said, in the late decision, the most injurious treatment that could be offered them : the Lords had resolved upon saving Mr. Hastings, and the Chancellor had taken him under the grossest protection. "In short," said he, "the whole business is taken out of our hands, and they have all determined to save him."

"Have they indeed?" cried I, with involuntary eagerness.

"Yes," answered he, perceiving how little I was shocked for him, "it is now all going your way."

I could not pretend to be sorry, and only inquired if Mr. Fox was to speak.

"I know not," cried he, hastily, "what is to be done, who will speak, or what will be resolved. Fox is in a rage! Oh, a rage!"

"But yet I hope he will speak. I have never heard him."

"No? not the other day?"

"No; I was then at Windsor."

"Oh yes, I remember you told me you were going. You have lost everything by it! To-day will be nothing, he is all rage! On Tuesday¹ he was great indeed. You should have heard him then. And Burke, you should have heard the con-

decided that the whole of the charges should be proceeded with before the prisoner was called upon for his defence (*European Magazine*, xiii. pp. 115 and 131).

¹ February 19.

clusion of Burke's speech; 'twas the noblest ever uttered by man!"

"So I have been told."

"To-day you will hear nothing—know nothing,—there will be no opportunity; Fox is all fury."

I told him he almost frightened me; for he spoke in a tremor himself that was really unpleasant.

"Oh!" cried he, looking at me half reproachfully, half good-humouredly, "Fox's fury is with the Lords—not there!" pointing to Mr. Hastings.

I saw by this he entered into my feelings in the midst of his irritability, and that gave me courage to cry out, "I am glad of that at least!"

"Oh yes! yes!" cried he, a little impetuously, "all our complaints, our indignities, our difficulties—all those are but balm to you."

And he shook his head and his hand at me tremulously and reproachfully, rising at the same time to be gone.

"Oh, Mr. Wyndham," cried I, half laughing, yet half afraid, "'soften a little of that flint,' as Mr. Sterling says,¹ I beseech you."

A smile forced its way to his features whether he would or not; but he very earnestly said, "And do you still, and can you, after what you have heard, retain any esteem for Mr. Hastings?"

"Why—a—little!" answered I, hesitatingly.

"What, still! after what you have heard!"

"Won't you allow me any?" cried I.

"If it is half what it was——"

"Not half!—Oh yes, allow me half!"

"What, half! after all you have heard!"

And again shaking his head and his hand as if

¹ Miss Burney often quotes from Colman and Garrick's *Clandestine Marriage*. But this speech (at the end) belongs to Lord Ogleby, not to Mr. Sterling, to whom it is addressed.

quite scandalised for me, he hurried back to his den, and I saw no more of him.

Mr. Fox spoke five hours, and with a violence that did not make me forget what I had heard of his being in such a fury; but I shall never give any account of these speeches, as they will all be printed.¹ I shall only say a word of the speakers as far as relates to my own feelings about them, and that briefly will be to say that I adhere to Mr. Burke, whose oratorical powers appeared to me far more gentleman-like, scholar-like, and fraught with true genius than those of Mr. Fox. It may be I am prejudiced by old kindnesses of Mr. Burke, and it may be that the countenance of Mr. Fox may have turned me against him, for it struck me to have a boldness in it quite hard and callous. However, it is little matter how much my judgment in this point may err. With you, my dear friends, I have nothing further to do than simply to give it; and even should it be wrong, it will not very essentially injure you in your politics.

I have very little to say till again I beg you to accompany me to Westminster Hall.

I must mention, however, that in a visit from Mrs. Ariana Egerton she told me that she was very intimate with Mr. Wyndham, and would herself acquaint me, by a note, of the day upon which he meant to speak. This I desired very much, as I now more wish to hear him than any of the set.

She told me, too, such kind speeches made of me by Mr. Burke, whom she often meets at Bulstrode, at the Duke of Portland's, that they went to my heart with fresh dismay, in reflecting on the violent and unjust part he now seems acting.

Again, on the fourth time of my attendance

¹ Mr. Fox's speech occupies six double-column pages in the *European Magazine* for March 1788.

at Westminster Hall, honest James was my esquire.

We were so late from divers accidents that we did not enter till the same moment with the prisoner. In descending the steps I heard my name exclaimed with surprise, and looking before me, I saw myself recognised by Mrs. Crewe.¹ "Miss Burney," she cried, "who could have thought of seeing you here!"

Very obligingly she made me join her immediately, which, as I was with no lady, was a very desirable circumstance; and though her political principles are well known, and, of course, lead her to side with the enemies of Mr. Hastings, she had the good sense to conclude me on the other side, and the delicacy never once to distress me by any discussion of the prosecution.

I was much disappointed to find nothing intended for this day's trial but hearing evidence; no speaker was preparing; all the attention was devoted to the witnesses.

Mr. Adam,² Mr. Dudley Long,³ and others that I know not, came from the Committee to chat with Mrs. Crewe; but soon after one came not so unknown to me—Mr. Burke; and Mrs. Crewe, seeing him ascend, named him to me, but was herself a little surprised to see it was his purpose to name himself, for he immediately made up to me, and with an air of such frank kindness that, could I have forgot his errand in that Hall, would have made me receive him as formerly, when I was almost fascinated with him.

But far other were my sensations. I trembled

¹ Frances Anne, afterwards Lady Crewe, the beautiful daughter of Mrs. Greville, Fanny's godmother, and the "Amoret" of Fox and Sheridan.

² William Adam, 1751-1839, another member of the Committee (see *ante*, p. 411).

³ Dudley Long North, 1748-1829, at this date M.P. for Great Grimsby, and a member of the Committee for the prosecution (see *ante*, p. 411).

as he approached me, with conscious change of sentiments, and with a dread of his pressing from me a disapprobation he might resent, but which I knew not how to disguise.

"Near-sighted as I am," cried he, "I knew you immediately. I knew you from our box the moment I looked up; yet how long it is, except for an instant here, since I have seen you!"

"Yes," I hesitatingly answered, "I—live in a monastery now."

He said nothing to this. He felt, perhaps, it was meant to express my inaccessibility.

I inquired after Mrs. Burke. He recounted to me the particulars of his sudden seizure when he spoke last, from the cramp in his stomach, owing to a draught of cold water which he drank in the midst of the heat of his oration.¹

I could not even wear a semblance of being sorry for him on this occasion; and my cold answers made him soon bend down to speak with Mrs. Crewe.

I was seated in the next row to her, just above.

Mr. Wyndham was now talking with her. My whole curiosity and desire being to hear him, which had induced me to make a point of coming this time, I was eager to know if my chance was wholly gone. "You are aware," I cried, when he spoke to me, "what brings me here this morning?"

"No"; he protested he knew not.

Mrs. Crewe, again a little surprised, I believe, at this second opposition acquaintance, began questioning how often I had attended this trial.

Mr. Wyndham, with much warmth of regret,

¹ On Monday, February 18. Hannah More thus refers to this incident. She was present, with Lord and Lady Amherst. "The recapitulation of the dreadful cruelties in India was worked up to the highest pitch of eloquence and passion, so that the orator was seized with a spasm which made him incapable of speaking another word, and I did not know whether he might not have died in the exertion of his powers, like *Chatham*" (*Memoirs*, 1834, ii. 109).

told her very seldom, and that I had lost Mr. Burke on his best day.

I then turned to speak to Mr. Burke, that I might not seem listening, for they interspersed various civilities upon my peculiar right to have heard all the great speeches, but Mr. Burke was in so profound a reverie he did not hear me.

I wished Mr. Wyndham had not either, for he called upon him aloud, "Mr. Burke, Miss Burney speaks to you!"

He gave me his immediate attention with an air so full of respect that it quite shamed me.

"Indeed," I cried, "I had never meant to speak to Mr. Burke again after hearing him in Westminster Hall. I had meant to keep at least that *geographical timidity*."

I alluded to an expression in his great speech of "geographical morality"¹ which had struck me very much. He laughed heartily, instantly comprehending me, and assured me it was an idea that had occurred to him on the moment he had uttered it, wholly without study.

A little general talk followed; and then, one of the Lords rising to question some of the evidence, he said he must return to his Committee and business,—very flatteringly saying, in quitting his post, "This is the first time I have played truant from the Managers' Box."

However I might be obliged to him, which sincerely I felt, I was yet glad to have him go. My total ill-will to all he was about made his conversation merely a pain to me.

I did not feel the same with regard to Mr. Wyndham. He is not the prosecutor, and seems

¹ In his speech on Saturday, February 16, Burke had charged Hastings of being actuated by "a kind of *geographical morality*—a set of principles suited only to a particular climate, so that what was speculation and tyranny in Europe lost both its essence and its name in India" (*European Magazine*, February 1788, 127).

endowed with so much liberality and candour that it not only encourages me to speak to him what I think, but leads me to believe he will one day or other reflect upon joining a party so violent as a stain to the independence of his character.

Almost instantly he came forward to the place Mr. Burke had vacated.

"Are you approaching," I cried, "to hear my upbraidings?"

"Why—I don't know," cried he, looking half alarmed.

"Oh! I give you warning, if you come you must expect them; so my invitation is almost as pleasant as the man's in *Measure for Measure*, who calls to Master Barnardine, 'Won't you come down to be hanged?'"¹

"But how," cried he, "have I incurred your upbraidings?"

"By bringing me here," I answered, "only to disappoint me."

"Did I bring you here?"

"Yes, by telling me you were to speak to-day."

He protested he could never have made such an assertion. I explained myself, reminding him he had told me he was certainly to speak before the recess; and that therefore, when I was informed this was to be the last day of trial till after the recess, I concluded I should be right, but found myself so utterly wrong as to hear nothing but such evidence as I could not even understand, because it was so uninteresting I could not even listen to it.

"How strangely," he exclaimed, "are we all moulded, that nothing ever in this mortal life, however pleasant in itself, and however desirable from its circumstances, can come to us without alloy—

¹ Pompey, Mistress Overdone's servant, who, in Act IV., Sc. 3, bids Barnardine, the prisoner, "rise and be hanged."

not even flattery ; for here, at this moment, all the high gratification I should feel, and I am well disposed to feel it thoroughly in supposing you could think it worth your while to come hither in order to hear me, is kept down and subdued by the consciousness how much I must disappoint you."

"Not at all," cried I ; "the worse you speak, the better for my side of the question."

He laughed, but confessed the agitation of his spirits was so great in the thought of that speech, whenever he was to make it, that it haunted him in fiery dreams in his sleep.

"Sleep !" cried I ; "do you ever sleep ?"

He stared a little, but I added with pretended dryness, "Do any of you that live down there in that prosecutor's den ever sleep in your beds ? I should have imagined that, had you even attempted it, the anticipating ghost of Mr. Hastings would have appeared to you in the dead of the night, and have drawn your curtains, and glared ghastly in your eyes. I do heartily wish Mr. Tickell would send you that *Anticipation*¹ at once !"

This idea furnished us with sundry images, till, looking down upon Mr. Hastings, with an air a little moved, he said, "I am afraid the most insulting thing we do by him is coming up hither to show ourselves so easy and disengaged, and to enter into conversation with the ladies."

"But I hope," cried I, alarmed, "he does not see that."

"Why, your caps," cried he, "are much in your favour for concealment ; they are excellent screens to all but the first row !"

I saw him, however, again look at the poor, and, I sincerely believe, much-injured prisoner, and as I saw also he still bore with my open opposition, I

¹ Richard Tickell, 1751-93. The *Anticipation* referred to was a "satirical forecast of Parliamentary proceedings, 1778."

could not but again seize a favourable moment for being more serious with him.

"Ah, Mr. Wyndham," I cried, "I have not forgot what dropped from you on the first day of this trial."

He looked a little surprised. "You," I continued, "probably have no remembrance of it, for you have been living ever since down there; but I was more touched with what you said then, than with all I have since heard from all the others, and probably than with all I shall hear even from you again when you mount the rostrum."

"You conclude," cried he, looking very sharp, "I shall then be better steeled against that fatal candour?"

"In fact," cried I, "Mr. Wyndham, I do really believe your steeling to be factitious, notwithstanding you took pains to assure me your candour was but the deeper malice; and yet I will own, when once I have heard your speech, I have little expectation of ever having the honour of conversing with you again."

"And why?" cried he, starting back; "what am I to say that you denounce such a forfeit beforehand?"

I could not explain; I left him to imagine; for, should he prove as violent and as personal as the rest, I had no objection to his previously understanding I could have no future pleasure in discoursing with him.

"I think, however," I continued, with a laugh, "that since I have settled this future taciturnity, I have a fair right in the meanwhile to say whatever comes uppermost."

He agreed to this with great approbance.

"Molière, you know, in order to obtain a natural opinion of his plays, applied to an old woman; you, upon the same principle, to obtain a natural opinion

of political matters, should apply to an ignorant one;—for you will never, I am sure, gain it *down there*.”

He smiled, whether he would or not, but protested this was the severest stricture upon his Committee that had ever yet been uttered.

I told him as it was the last time he was likely to hear unbiassed sentiments upon this subject, it was right they should be spoken very intelligibly.

“And permit me,” I said, “to begin with what strikes me the most. Were Mr. Hastings really the culprit he is represented, he would never stand there.”

“Certainly,” cried he, with a candour he could not suppress, “there seems something favourable in that; it has a good look; but assure yourself he never expected to see this day.”

“But would he, if guilty, have waited its chance? Was not all the world before him? Could he not have chosen any other place of residence?”

“Yes;—but the shame, the disgrace of a flight?”

“What is it all to the shame and disgrace of convicted guilt?”

He made no answer.

“And now,” I continued, “shall I tell you, just in the same simple style, how I have been struck with the speakers and speeches I have yet heard?”

He eagerly begged me to go on.

“The whole of this public speaking is quite new to me. I was never in the House of Commons. It is all a new creation to me.”

“And what a creation it is!” he exclaimed; “how noble, how elevating! *and*—what an inhabitant for it!”

I received his compliment with great courtesy, as an encouragement for me to proceed.

I then began upon Mr. Burke; but I must give

you a very brief summary of my speech, as it could only be intelligible at full length from your having heard his. I told him that his opening had struck me with the highest admiration of his powers, from the eloquence, the imagination, the fire, the diversity of expression, and the ready flow of language with which he seemed gifted, in a most superior manner, for any and every purpose to which rhetoric could lead. "And when he came to his two narratives," I continued, "when he related the particulars of those dreadful murders, he interested, he engaged, he at last overpowered me; I felt my cause lost. I could hardly keep on my seat. My eyes dreaded a single glance towards a man so accused as Mr. Hastings; I wanted to sink on the floor, that they might be saved so painful a sight. I had no hope he could clear himself; not another wish in his favour remained. But when from this narration Mr. Burke proceeded to his own comments and declamation — when the charges of rapacity, cruelty, tyranny were general, and made with all the violence of personal detestation, and continued and aggravated without any further fact or illustration; then there appeared more of study than of truth, more of invective than of justice; and, in short, so little of proof to so much of passion, that in a very short time I began to lift up my head, my seat was no longer uneasy, my eyes were indifferent which way they looked, or what object caught them; and before I was myself aware of the declension of Mr. Burke's powers over my feelings, I found myself a mere spectator in a public place, and looking all around it, with my opera-glass in my hand!"

His eyes sought the ground on hearing this, and with no other comment than a rather uncomfortable shrug of the shoulders, he expressively and concisely said, "I comprehend you perfectly!"

This was a hearing too favourable to stop me; and Mr. Hastings constantly before me was an animation to my spirits which nothing less could have given me, to a manager of such a Committee!

I next, therefore, began upon Mr. Fox; and I ran through the general matter of his speech, with such observations as had occurred to me in hearing it. "His violence," I said, "had that sort of monotony that seemed to result from its being factitious, and I felt less pardon for that than for any extravagance in Mr. Burke, whose excesses seemed at least to be unaffected, and, if they spoke against his judgment, spared his probity. Mr. Fox appeared to have no such excuse; he looked all good humour and negligent ease the instant before he began a speech of uninterrupted passion and vehemence, and he wore the same careless and disengaged air the very instant he had finished. A display of talents in which the inward man took so little share could have no powers of persuasion to those who saw them in that light; and therefore, however their brilliancy might be admired, they were useless to their cause, for they left the mind of the hearer in the same state that they found it."

After a short vindication of his friends, he said, "You have never heard Pitt? You would like him beyond any other competitor."

And then he made his panegyric in very strong terms, allowing him to be equal, ready, splendid, wonderful!—he was in constant astonishment himself at his powers and success;—his youth and inexperience never seemed against him: though he mounted to his present height after and in opposition to such a vortex of splendid abilities, yet, alone and unsupported, he coped with them all! And then, with conscious generosity, he finished a most noble *éloge* with these words: "Take—you

may take—the testimony of an enemy—a very confirmed enemy of Mr. Pitt's!"

Not *very* confirmed, I hope! A man so liberal can harbour no enmity of that dreadful malignancy that sets mitigation at defiance for ever.

He then asked me if I had heard Mr. Grey?¹

"No," I answered; "I can come but seldom, and therefore I reserved myself for to-day."

"You really fill me with compunction!" he cried. "But if, indeed, I have drawn you into so cruel a waste of your time, the only compensation I can make you will be carefully to keep from you the day when I shall really speak."

"No," I answered, "I must hear you; for that is all I now wait for to make up my final opinion."

"And does it all rest with me?—'Dreadful responsibility!'—as Mr. Hastings powerfully enough expresses himself in his narrative."

"And can you allow an expression of Mr. Hastings to be powerful?—That is not like Mr. Fox, who, in acknowledging some one small thing to be right, in his speech, checked himself for the acknowledgment by hastily saying, '*Though I am no great admirer of the genius and abilities of the gentleman at the bar;*'—as if he had pronounced a sentence in a parenthesis, between hooks,—so rapidly he flew off to what he could positively censure."

"And *hooks* they were indeed!" he cried.

"Do not inform against me," I continued, "and I will give you a little more of Molière's old woman."

He gave me his *parole*, and looked very curious.

"Well then,—amongst the things most striking

¹ Charles Grey, afterwards second Earl Grey, 1764-1845, one of the members of the Committee for the prosecution (see *ante*, p. 411). Macaulay, in his Essay on *Warren Hastings*, devotes the close of an eloquent paragraph on the managers to this youngest of their number, then (1841) the sole survivor of a group of great statesmen.

to an unbiassed spectator was that action of the Orator that led him to look full at the prisoner upon every hard part of the charge. There was no courage in it, since the accused is so situated he must make no answer; and, *not* being courage, to *Molière's old woman* it could only seem *cruelty*!"

He quite gave up this point without a defence, except telling me it was from the habit of the House of Commons, as Fox, who chiefly had done this, was a most good-humoured man, and by nothing but habit would have been betrayed into such an error.

"And another thing," I cried, "which strikes those ignorant of senatorial licence, is this,—that those perpetual repetitions, from all the speakers, of inveighing against the power, the rapacity, the tyranny, the despotism of the *Gentleman at the Bar*, being uttered now, when we see him without any power, without even liberty—confined to that spot, and the only person in this large assembly who may not leave it when he will;—when we *see* such a contrast to all we *hear*, we think the simplest relation would be sufficient for all purposes of justice, as all that goes beyond plain narrative, instead of sharpening indignation, only calls to mind the greatness of the fall, and raises involuntary commiseration!"

"And you wish," he cried, "to hear me? How you add to my difficulties!—for now, instead of thinking of Lords, Commons, Bishops, and Judges before me, and of the delinquent and his counsel at my side, I shall have every thought and faculty swallowed up in thinking of who is behind me!"

This civil speech put an end to *Molière's old woman* and her comments; and not to have him wonder at her unnecessarily, I said, "Now, then, Mr. Wyndham, shall I tell you fairly what it is

that induced me to say all this to you?—Dr. Johnson!—what I have heard from him of Mr. Wyndham has been the cause of all this hazardous openness.”

“’Twas a noble cause,” cried he, well pleased, “and noble has been its effect! I loved him, indeed, sincerely. He has left a chasm in my heart—a chasm in the world! There was in him what I never saw before, what I never shall find again! I lament every moment as lost that I might have spent in his society, and yet gave to any other.”

How it delighted me to hear this just praise, thus warmly uttered! I could speak from this moment upon no other subject. I told him how much it gratified me; and we agreed in comparing notes upon the very few opportunities his real remaining friends could now meet with of a similar indulgence, since so little was his intrinsic worth understood, while so deeply all his foibles had been felt, that in general it was merely a matter of pain to hear him even named.

How did we then emulate each other in calling to mind all his excellences!

“His abilities,” cried Mr. Wyndham, “were gigantic, and always at hand; no matter for the subject, he had information ready for everything. He was fertile,—he was universal!”

My praise of him was of a still more solid kind,—his principles, his piety, his kind heart under all its rough coating: but I need not repeat what I said,—my dear friends know every word.

I reminded him of the airings, in which he gave his time with his carriage for the benefit of Dr. Johnson’s health. “What an advantage!” he cried, “was all that to myself! I had not merely an admiration, but a tenderness for him,—the more I knew him, the stronger it became. We never

disagreed; even in politics I found it rather words than things in which we differed."

"And if you could so love him," cried I, "knowing him only in a general way, what would you have felt for him had you known him at Streatham?"

I then gave him a little history of his manners and way of life there,—his good humour, his sport, his kindness, his sociability, and all the many excellent qualities that, in the world at large, were by so many means obscured.

He was extremely interested in all I told him, and regrettingly said he had only known him in his worst days, when his health was upon its decline, and infirmities were crowding fast upon him.

"Had he lived longer," he cried, "I am satisfied I should have taken to him almost wholly. I should have taken him to my heart! have looked up to him, applied to him, advised with him in all the most essential occurrences of my life? I am sure, too,—though it is a proud assertion,—he would have liked me, also, better, had we mingled more. I felt a mixed fondness and reverence growing so strong upon me, that I am satisfied the closest union would have followed his longer life."

I then mentioned how kindly he had taken his visit to him at Lichfield during a severe illness. "And he left you," I said, "a book?"¹

"Yes," he answered, "and he gave me one, also, just before he died. 'You will look into this sometimes,' he said, 'and not refuse to remember whence you had it.'"²

And then he added he had heard him speak of

¹ From the codicil to Johnson's will this was *Poetae Græci Heroici, per Henricum Stephanum* (Hill's *Boswell*, 1887, iv. 402, n. 2).

² It was a copy of the New Testament, which he gave him with the words: "*Extremum hoc munus morientis habeto*" (Windham's *Diary*, 1866, 28).

me,—and with so much kindness, that I was forced not to press a recapitulation: yet now I wish I had heard it.

Just before we broke up, “There is nothing,” he cried, with energy, “for which I look back upon myself with severer discipline than the time I have thrown away in other pursuits, that might else have been devoted to that wonderful man!”

He then said he must be gone,—he was one in a Committee of the House, and could keep away no longer. “Yet I go,” he cried, “to the driest work!—to the wool business!”

“What wool business?”

“Wool and worsted!” repeated he, with disgust, “the Bill now in debate. And to leave such an assembly, such society as this, for wool and worsted! for—for—” he hesitated and laughed, and then, in a whisper, added, “for Mr. Simkins and Mr. Hobson!”¹

I drew back,—but he leant forwarder, over the little partition that divides the Chamberlain’s Box from the House of Commons, and, with a very arch earnestness, exclaimed, “Nay, nay!—let me have this little retaliation! ’tis very little, indeed, for what I owe!”

I stopped him, however, by answering only to his wool and worsted lamentation: “Who,” cried I, “shall pity the toils and labours of the poorer class of mankind, when a den such as that (pointing to the Managers’ Box) can find such volunteers?”

He laughed and shook his head, and took his leave.

And certainly, thought I to myself, to earn daily bread may be less fatiguing than to earn daily abuse.

¹ Tradesmen in *Cecilia*.

I then again joined in with Mrs. Crewe, who, meantime, had had managers without end to converse with her.

But, very soon after, Mr. Burke mounted to the House of Commons again, and took the place left by Mr. Wyndham.

I inquired very much after Mrs. Burke, and we talked of the spectacle and its fine effect; and I ventured to mention, allusively, some of the digressive parts of the great speech in which I had heard him: but I saw him anxious for speaking more to the point, and as I could not talk to him—the leading prosecutor—with that frankness of opposing sentiments which I used to Mr. Wyndham, I was anxious only to avoid talking at all; and so brief was my speech, and so long my silences, that, of course, he was soon wearied into a retreat. Had he not acted such a part, with what pleasure should I have exerted myself to lengthen his stay!

Yet he went not in wrath: for, before the close, he came yet a third time, to say, “I do not pity you for having to sit there so long, for, with you, sitting can now be no punishment.”

“No,” cried I, “I may take rest now for a twelvemonth back.”

His son also came to speak to me; but, not long after, Mrs. Crewe called upon me to say, “Miss Burney, Mr. Sheridan begs me to introduce him to you, for he thinks you have forgot him.”

I did not feel very comfortable in this; the part he acts would take from me all desire for his notice, even were his talents as singular as they are celebrated. Cold, therefore, was my reception of his salutations, though as civil as I could make it. He talked a little over our former meeting at Mrs. Cholmondeley's, and he reminded me of what he

had there urged and persuaded with all his might, namely, that I would write a comedy ; and he now reproached me for my total disregard of his counsel and opinion.

I made little or no answer, for I am always put out by such sort of discourse, especially when entered upon with such abruptness.

Recollecting, then, that *Cecilia* had been published since that time, he began a very florid flourish, saying he was in my debt greatly, not only for reproaches about what I had neglected, but for fine speeches about what I had performed. I hastily interrupted him with a fair retort, exclaiming—"Oh ! if fine speeches may now be made, I ought to begin first—but know not where I should end !" I then asked after Mrs. Sheridan, and he soon after left me.

Mrs. Crewe was very obligingly solicitous our renewed acquaintance should not drop here ; she asked me to name any day for dining with her, or to send to her at any time when I could arrange a visit : but I was obliged to decline it, on the general score of wanting time.

In the conclusion of the day's business there was much speaking, and I heard Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and several others ; but the whole turned extremely in favour of the gentleman at the bar, to the great consternation of the accusers, whose own witnesses gave testimony, most unexpectedly, on the side of Mr. Hastings.

We came away very late ; my dear James quite delighted with this happy catastrophe.

March.—I have only memorandums of this month, as my dearest Fredy's being in town makes the chief part of its occurrences already known. What I have noted, take.

In our first journey to Windsor this month Mrs. Schwellenberg was still unable to go, and

the party was Miss Planta, Colonel Welbred, Mr. Fairly, Sir Joseph Banks,¹ and Mr. Turbulent.

Sir Joseph was so exceedingly shy that we made no sort of acquaintance at all. If instead of going round the world he had only fallen from the moon, he could not appear less versed in the usual modes of a tea-drinking party. But what, you will say, has a tea-drinking party to do with a botanist, a man of science, a president of the Royal Society?

I left him, however, to the charge of Mr. Turbulent, the two Colonels becoming, as usual, my joint supporters. And Mr. Turbulent, in revenge, ceased not one moment to watch Colonel Welbred, nor permitted him to say a word, or to hear an answer, without some most provoking grimace. Fortunately, upon this subject he cannot confuse me; I have not a sentiment about Colonel Welbred, for or against, that shrinks from examination.

To-night, however, my conversation was almost wholly with him. I would not talk with Mr. Turbulent; I could not talk with Sir Joseph Banks; and Mr. Fairly did not talk with me; he had his little son with him; he was grave and thoughtful, and seemed awake to no other pleasure than discoursing with that sweet boy.

I believe I have forgotten to mention that Mrs. Gwynn had called upon me one morning, in London, and left me a remarkably fine impression of Mr. Bunbury's *Propagation of a Lie*,² which I had mentioned when she was at Windsor, with regret at having never seen it. This I had produced

¹ Sir Joseph Banks, 1743-1820. He had accompanied Cook in the *Endeavour*, 1768-71, and had become a baronet in 1781. He had been President of the Royal Society since 1778.

² This, dated December 29, 1787, and exhibiting the various stages in the growth of a lie, is one of Bunbury's most popular performances. It was engraved by W. Dickinson.

here a month ago, to show to our tea-party, and just as it was in the hands of Colonel Welbred, His Majesty entered the room; and, after looking at it a little while, with much entertainment, he took it away to show it to the Queen and Princesses. I thought it lost; for Colonel Welbred said he concluded it would be thrown amidst the general hoard of curiosities, which, when once seen, are commonly ever after forgotten, yet which no one has courage to name and to claim.

This evening, however, the Colonel was successful, and recovered me my print. It is so extremely humorous that I was very glad to receive it, and in return I fetched my last sketches, which Mr. William Locke had most kindly done for me when here last autumn, and indulged Colonel Welbred with looking at them, charging him at the same time to guard them from a similar accident. I meant to show them myself to my royal mistress, who is all care, caution, and delicacy to restore to the right owner whatever she receives with a perfect knowledge who the right owner is.

Monday, March 10, was our next Windsor excursion.

The rest of this month will be comprised in a few lines. The visit to Windsor, at Easter, of my sweet and loved friends has been related in the best manner to my Susannah by themselves.

All I saw of my dear Charlotte during the same period, while in town, we have mentioned in more immediate communications.

My most loved, most revered Mrs. Delany I saw by every opportunity; and I received from her, at Easter, a letter written in her own hand, full of all the spirit, affection, fancy, and elegance with which she could have written at twenty-five.

Dear, precious, invaluable lines ! how shall I preserve and love them to my latest hour !

The second volume of the *Letters* of my revered Dr. Johnson was now lent me by Her Majesty ; I found in them very frequent mention of our name, but nothing to alarm in the reading it.¹

April.—I have scarce a memorandum of this fatal month, in which I was bereft of the most revered of friends, and, perhaps, the most perfect of women.² The two excellent persons to whom I write this will be the first to subscribe to her worth : nearest to it themselves, they are least conscious of the resemblance—but how consolatory to me is it to see and to feel it !

I am yet scarce able to settle whether to glide silently and resignedly—as far as I can—past all this melancholy deprivation, or whether to go back once more to the ever-remembered, ever-sacred scene that closed the earthly pilgrimage of my venerable, my sainted friend.

My beloved Susan and Fredy, I believe, know it all,—I had so recently parted with that sweet Fredy, and my Susan was waiting for me as I quitted the dying angel, just on the almost very moment of her beatitude. What a support to me was she in that awful, heart-piercing minute !—what a consolation !—what a blessing on the following mourning day !

I believe I heard the last words she uttered ; I cannot learn that she spoke after my reluctant departure. She finished with that cheerful resignation, that lively hope, which always broke forth when this last—awful—but, to her, most happy change seemed approaching.

Poor Miss P——³ and myself were kneeling by

¹ See *ante*, p. 371.

² Mrs. Delany died on the 15th at her house in St. James's Place. She was buried in St. James's Church, where there is an inscription to her by Bishop Hurd.

³ Port.

her bedside. She had just given me her soft hand ; without power to see either of us, she felt and knew us. Oh, never can I cease to cherish the remembrance of the sweet, benign, *holy* voice with which she pronounced a blessing upon us both ! We kissed her ; and, with a smile all beaming—I thought it so—of heaven, she seemed then to have taken leave of all earthly solitudes. Yet then, even then, short as was her time on earth, the same soft human sensibility filled her for poor human objects. She would not bid us farewell—would not tell us she should speak with us no more—she only said, as she turned gently away from us, “And now—I’ll go to sleep!”—But oh, in what a voice she said it ! I felt what the sleep would be ; so did poor Miss P——.

Poor, sweet, unfortunate girl ! what deluges of tears did she shed over me ! I promised her in that solemn moment my eternal regard, and she accepted this, my first protestation of any kind made to her, as some solace to her sufferings. Sacred shall I hold it!—sacred to my last hour. I believe, indeed, that angelic being had no other wish equally fervent.

How full of days and full of honours was her exit ! I should blush at the affliction of my heart in losing her, could I ever believe excellence was given us here to love and to revere, yet gladly to relinquish. No, I cannot think it : the deprivation may be a chastisement, but not a joy. We may submit to it with patience ; but we cannot have felt it with warmth where we lose it without pain. Outrageously to murmur, or sullenly to refuse consolation—there, indeed, we are rebels against the dispensations of Providence—and rebels yet more weak than wicked ; for what and whom is it we resist ? what and who are *we* for such resistance.

She bid me—how often did she bid me—not

grieve to lose her! Yet she said, in my absence, she knew I must, and sweetly regretted how much I must miss her. I teach myself to think of her felicity; and I never dwell upon that without faithfully feeling I would not desire her return. But, in every other channel in which my thoughts and feelings turn, I miss her with so sad a void! She was all that I dearly loved that remained within my reach; she was become the bosom repository of all the livelong day's transactions, reflections, feelings, and wishes. Her own exalted mind was all expanded when we met. I do not think she concealed from me the most secret thought of her heart; and while every word that fell from her spoke wisdom, piety, and instruction, her manner had an endearment, her spirits a native gaiety, and her smile, to those she loved, a tenderness so animated,—oh, why do I go on entering into these details? Believe me, my dear friends, now—now that the bitterness of the first blow is over, and that the dreary chasm becomes more familiar to me, I *think* and *trust* I would not call her back.

What a message she left me! Did you hear it? She told Mrs. Astley to say to me, when she was gone, how much comfort I must always feel in reflecting how much her latter days had been soothed by me.

Blessed spirit! sweet, fair, and beneficent on earth!—Oh, gently mayest thou now be at rest in that last home—to which fearfully I look forward, yet not hopeless; never that—and sometimes with fullest, fairest, sublimest expectations! If to her it be given to plead for those she left, I shall not be forgotten in her prayer. Rest to her sweet soul! rest and everlasting peace to her gentle spirit! My dearest friends, I know not why I write all this; but I can hardly turn myself away

and write anything else. You must not read a word of it to Mr. Locke.

I will now compile the heads of this sad month, and then end it with a conference—long since promised—with Mr. Wyndham, which may enliven it to my feeling friends and to my own pen.

I saw my poor lovely Miss P—— twice in every day, when in town, till after the last holy rites had been performed. I had no peace away from her; I thought myself fulfilling a wish of that sweet departed saint, in consigning all the time I had at my own disposal to solacing and advising with her beloved niece, who received this little offering with a sweetness that once again twined her round my heart.

I was much blamed here, universally, for my conduct at this time, in keeping alive all my sorrow, by going so continually to that scene of distress. They knew not it was my only balm!—all for which I could willingly exert myself, and all that rested with me of power to pay the devotion of my heart to the revered manes of her who was gone.

My poor Miss P—— came to Windsor to settle her affairs here, and again I spent with her every moment in my power, though, indeed, I could not enter that house with a very steady foot; but we could join our tears, and try to join promises and exhortations to submission.

Poor Mrs. Astley, the worthy humble friend, rather than servant, of the most excellent departed, was the person whom, next to the niece, I most pitied. She was every way to be lamented: unfit for any other service, yet unprovided for in this, by the utter and most regretted inability of her much-attached mistress, who frequently told me

that leaving poor Astley unsettled hung heavy on her mind.

My dearest friends know the success I had in venturing to represent her worth and situation to my Royal Mistress. In the moment when she came to my room to announce His Majesty's gracious intention to pension Mrs. Astley here as housekeeper to the same house, I really could scarce withhold myself from falling prostrate at her feet: I never felt such a burst of gratitude but where I had no ceremonials to repress it.

Joseph, too, the faithful footman, I was most anxious to secure in some good service; and I related my wishes for him to General Cary, who procured for him a place with his daughter, Lady Amherst.

I forget if I have ever read you the sweet words that accompanied to me the kind legacies left me by my honoured friend—I believe not.

They were ordered to be sent me with the portrait of Sacharissa,¹ and two medallions of their Majesties: they were originally written to accompany the legacy to the Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Hurd, as you may perceive by the style, but it was desired they might also be copied:—

“I take this liberty, that my much esteemed and respected friend may sometimes recollect a person who was so sensible of the honour of ^{his}_{her} friendship, and who delighted so much in her conversation and works.”

Need I—oh, I am sure I need not—say with what tender, grateful, sorrowing joy I received these sweet pledges of her invaluable regard.

To these, by another codicil, was added the choice of one of her mosaic flowers.² And, verbally, on the night but one before she died, she desired I

¹ See vol. ii. p. 195, and *post*, under October 25, 1788.

² See vol. ii. p. 197.

might have her fine quarto edition of Shakspeare, sweetly saying she had never received so much pleasure from him in any other way as through my reading.

What a heart overflowing with kindness, goodness, and benevolence was hers!—ever insensible to the noblest things she did; ever alive to the most trivial she received! She always appeared to me an angel before her time—oh, may she now be a guardian, a guiding, and a pitying one!

All that voluntarily drew me from the lovely young sufferer at this time was my poor Mrs. Ord, who just now lost her youngest son, a very promising youth, who died in the East Indies.

This occasioned a division in my melancholy visits: I went to them both all that I was able, comforting to the best of my power my poor Miss P——, and receiving myself the most edifying lessons by witnessing the self-given comfort assumed by Mrs. Ord. She bore this stroke with a fortitude so truly religious, that I can never admire nor recollect it sufficiently. All her maternal feelings in this world were sunk in the superior maternal feelings of hoping her son happy, and beyond the reach of sublunary temptation to merited misery. She has a truly elevated mind—disinterested, sincere, pious, and firm. She admitted only Mr. and Mrs. Smelt and myself, and we passed several evenings all together, in moralising sorrow.

My dear and kind Charlotte was in town all this month, and came to me with sweet and genuine affection every moment I could receive her, which was every moment that my attendance and these two houses of mourning did not engage me.

My friendly, anxious, and kind Miss Cambridge came to town also, to spend with me a consolatory morning, and I was truly grateful, and could not but revive the sooner for it. My beloved father

came to me all he could—my dear Esther—all that I could covet to see on this sad event came.

The whole household indeed took a pitying interest in the great loss they knew me to sustain. I had messages, and inquiries, and visits from all.

But how sad was my re-entrance, and every re-entrance into Windsor!—bereft, irremediably, of all that could soften to me the total separation it causes between me and all my original and dearest friends.

It was, however, a very fortunate circumstance that for the two or three first comings Mr. Fairly happened to be of the King's party. Inured himself to sorrow, his soul was easily turned to pity; and far from censuring the affliction, or contemning the misfortunes, which were inferior to his own, his kind and feeling nature led him to no sensation but of compassion, which softened every feature of his face, and took place of all the hard traces of personal suffering which most severely had marked it. The tone of his voice was all in sympathy with this gentleness; and there was not an attention in his power to show me that he did not exert with the most benevolent and even flattering alacrity; interesting himself about my diet, my health, my exercise; proposing walks to me, and exhorting me to take them, and even intimating he should see that I did, were not his time occupied by royal attendance.

Poor Miss Baker lost her favourite nephew, George Drake, at the same time; and I went to spend one afternoon with her and her poor mother¹ at the Salt-office, as Miss Cambridge thought it might a little revive them. There cannot be two more excellent people. I had never been able to

¹ Mrs. Sarah Baker, Miss Baker's mother, was housekeeper at the Salt Office, in York Buildings, Strand.

manage a visit to them before, since I quitted home. We were now all in unison—all in sadness and seriousness, and fitted for being together.

The death of the worthy and ingenious Mr. Lightfoot¹ happened also in this month, and just before that so deeply felt. It was very sudden; but I think he was a man so inwardly good and religious he was never unprepared.

Colonel Welbred's waiting was over with March: it would have been greatly to my regret had I been less unhappy. Colonel Manners succeeded; and with all his levity and spirits, showed a kind concern for me on this occasion that marked great good-nature and good-will.

Poor Mr. Bryant came once to dine with me, very sincerely joining in the lamentation of the month.

Mr. Turbulent during this period was so thrown from all his flights by my gravity and sadness that he spent but little time with me, and seemed "therewith content"; yet he is a man of real good-nature, and ready and willing to take any trouble and labour, and run any hazard, and risk any expense, to serve or to oblige. But gravity is too much for him—he cannot support its weight—he had rather quarrel and be quarrelled with!

The part of this month in which my Susanna was in town I kept no journal at all. And I have now nothing to add but to copy those memorandums I made of the Trial on the day I went to Westminster Hall with my two friends, previously to the deep calamity on which I have dwelt. They told me they could not hear what Mr. Wyndham said; and there is a spirit in his discourse more worth their hearing than any other thing I have now to write.

You may remember his coming straight from

¹ See *ante*, p. 221.

the managers, in their first procession to their box, and beginning at once a most animated attack—scarcely waiting first to say, How do?—before he exclaimed, “I have a great quarrel with you! I am come now purposely to quarrel with you!—you have done me mischief irreparable—you have ruined me!”

“Have I?”

“Yes; and not only with what passed here, even setting that aside, though there was mischief enough here; but you have quite undone me since!”

I begged him to let me understand how.

“I will,” he cried. “When the Trial broke up for the recess I went into the country, purposing to give my whole time to study and business; but, most unfortunately, I had just sent for a new set of *Evelina*; and intending only to look at it, I was so cruelly caught that I could not let it out of my hands, and have been living with nothing but the Branghtons ever since!”

I could not but laugh, though on this subject 'tis always awkwardly.

“There was no parting with it,” he continued; “I could not shake it off from me a moment! See, then, every way, what mischief you have done me!”

He ran on to this purpose much longer, with great rapidity, and then, suddenly stopping, again said, “But I have yet another quarrel with you, and one you must answer. How comes it that the moment you have attached us to the hero and the heroine—the instant you have made us cling to them so that there is no getting disengaged—twined, twisted, twirled them round our very heart-strings—how is it that then you make them undergo such persecutions? There is really no enduring their distresses, their suspenses, their

perplexities. Why are you so cruel to all around—to them and their readers?”

I longed to say—Do *you* object to a persecution?—but I know he spells it prosecution.

I could make no answer: I never can. Talking over one's own writings seems to me always ludicrous, because it cannot be impartially, either by author or commentator; one feeling, the other fearing, too much for strict truth and unaffected candour.

When we found the subject quite hopeless as to discussion, he changed it, and said, “I have lately seen some friends of yours, and I assure you I gave you an excellent character to them: I told them you were firm, fixed, and impenetrable to all conviction!”

An excellent character, indeed! He meant to Mr. Francis and Charlotte.

Then he talked a little of the business of the day; and he told me that Mr. Anstruther was to speak.¹

“I was sure of it,” I cried, “by his manner when he entered the Managers’ Box. I shall know when you are to speak, Mr. Wyndham, before I hear you.”

He shrugged his shoulders a little uncomfortably.

I asked him to name to me the various managers. He did; adding, “Do you not like to sit here, where you can look down upon the several combatants before the battle?”

When he named Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor,² I particularly desired he might be pointed out to me, telling him I had long wished to see him, from

¹ John (afterwards Sir John) Anstruther, 1753-1811. He was one of the members of the committee for the prosecution (see *ante*, p. 411).

² Michael Angelo Taylor, 1757-1834, M.P. for Poole, and another of the members of the committee for the prosecution (see *ante*, p. 411). In the *Probationary Odes* (see *ante*, vol. ii. p. 320 n.) Dr. Burney is supposed to write a “recommendatory testimony” to Mr. M. A. Taylor’s poetic gifts.

the companion given to him in one of the *Probationary Odes*, where they have coupled him with my dear father, most impertinently and unwarrantably.

"That, indeed," he cried, "is a licentiousness in the press quite intolerable!—to attack and involve private characters in their public lampoons! To Dr. Burney they could have no right; but Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor is fair game enough, and likes that or any other way whatever of obtaining notice. You know what Johnson said to Boswell of preserving fame?"

"No."

"There were but two ways," he told him, "of preserving; one was by sugar, the other by salt. 'Now,' says he, 'as the sweet way, Bozzy, you are but little likely to attain, I would have you plunge into vinegar, and get fairly pickled at once.' And such has been the plan of Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor. With the sweet he had, indeed, little chance, so he soused into the other, head over ears."

We then united forces in repeating passages from various of the *Probationary Odes*, and talking over various of the managers, till Mr. Anstruther was preparing to speak, and Mr. Wyndham went to his cell.

I am sure you will remember that Mr. Burke came also, and the panic with which I saw him, doubled by my fear lest he should see that panic.

When the speech was over, and evidence was filling up the day's business, Mr. Wyndham returned.

Some time after, but I have forgotten how, we were agreeing in thinking suspense, and all obscurity in expectation or in opinion, amongst the things most trying to bear in this mortal life, especially where they lead to some evil construction. "But then," cried he, "on the other hand, there is nothing

so pleasant as clearing away a disagreeable prejudice; nothing so exhilarating as the dispersion of a black mist, and seeing all that had been black and gloomy turn out bright and fair."

"That, sir," cried I, "is precisely what I expect from thence," pointing to the prisoner.

What a look he gave me! Yet he laughed irresistibly.

"However," I continued, "I have been putting my expectations from your speech to a kind of test."

"And how, for Heaven's sake?"

"Why, I have been reading—running over, rather—a set of speeches, in which almost the whole House made a part, upon the India Bill; and in looking those over I saw not one that had not in it something positively and pointedly personal, except Mr. Wyndham's."

"Oh, that was a mere accident!"

"But it was just the accident I expected from Mr. Wyndham. I do not mean that there was invective in all the others, for in some there was panegyric—plenty! but that panegyric was always so directed as to convey more of severe censure to one party than of real praise to the other. Yours was all to the business, and thence I infer you will deal just so by Mr. Hastings."

"I believe," cried he, looking at me very sharp, "you only want to praise me down. You know what it is to skate a man down?"

"No, indeed."

"Why, to skate a man down is a very favourite diversion among a certain race of wags. It is only to praise, and extol, and stimulate him to double and treble exertion and effort, till, in order to show his desert of such panegyric, the poor dupe makes so many turnings and windings, and describes circle after circle with such hazardous dexterity, that, at

last, down he drops in the midst of his flourishes, to his own eternal disgrace, and their entire content."

I gave myself no vindication from this charge but a laugh; and we returned to discuss speeches and speakers, and I expressed again my extreme repugnance against all personality in these public harangues, except in simply stating facts.

"What say you, then," cried he, "to Pitt?" He then repeated a warm and animated praise of his powers and his eloquence, but finished with this censure: "He takes not," cried he, "the grand path suited to his post as Prime Minister, for he is personal beyond all men; pointed, sarcastic, cutting; and it is in him peculiarly unbecoming. The Minister should be always conciliating; the attack, the probe, the invective, belong to the assailant."

Then he instanced Lord North,¹ and said much more on these political matters and maxims than I can possibly write, or could at the time do more than hear; for, as I told him, I not only am no politician, but have no ambition to become one, thinking it by no means a female business.

When he went to the Managers' Box, Mr. Burke again took his place, but he held it a very short time, though he was in high good humour and civility. The involuntary coldness that results from internal disapprobation must, I am sure, have been seen, so thoroughly was it felt. I can only talk on this matter with Mr. Wyndham, who, knowing my opposite principles, expects to hear them, and gives them the fairest play by his good humour, candour, and politeness. But there is not one other manager with whom I could venture such openness.

That Mr. Wyndham takes it all in good part is

¹ Frederick, Lord North, 1732-1792, afterwards second Earl of Guildford, at this date acting with the Opposition against Pitt.

certainly amongst the things he makes plainest, for again, after Mr. Burke's return to the Den, he came back.

"I am happy," cried I, "to find you have not betrayed me."

"Oh, no ; I would not for the world."

"Oh, I am quite satisfied you have kept my counsel ; for Mr. Burke has been with me twice, and speaking with a good humour I could not else have expected from him. He comes to tell me that he never pities me for sitting here, whatever is going forward, as the sitting must be rest ; and, indeed, it seems as if my coming hither was as much to rest my frame as to exercise my mind."

"That's a very good idea, but I do not like to realise it ; I do not like to think of you and fatigue together. Is it so ? Do you really want rest ?"

"Oh, no !"

"Oh, I am well aware yours is not a mind to turn complainer ; but yet I fear, and not for your rest only, but your time. How is that ; have you it, as you ought, at your own disposal ?"

"Why, not quite," cried I, laughing. Good Heaven ! what a question, in a situation like mine !

"Well, that is a thing I cannot bear to think of—that you should want time !"

"But the Queen," cried I, "is so kind."

"That may be," interrupted he, "and I am very glad of it ; but still, time—and to you !"

"Yet, after all, in the whole, I have a good deal, though always uncertain ; for, if sometimes I have not two minutes when I expect two hours, at other times I have two hours where I expected only two minutes."

"All that is nothing, if you have them not with certainty. Two hours are of no more value than two minutes, if you have them not at undoubted command."

Again I answered, "The Queen is so kind"; determined to sound that sentence well and audibly into republican ears.

"Well, well," cried he, "that may be some compensation to you; but to us, to all others, what compensation is there for depriving you of time?"

"Mrs. Locke, here," cried I, "always wishes time could be bought, because there are so many who have more than they know what to do with, that those who have less might be supplied very reasonably."

"'Tis an exceeding good idea," cried he; "and I am sure, if it could be purchased, it ought to be given to you by act of parliament, as a public donation and tribute."

There was a fine flourish!

A little after, while we were observing Mr. Hastings, Mr. Wyndham exclaimed, "He's looking up; I believe he is looking for you."

I turned hastily away, fairly saying, "I hope not."

"Yes, he is; he seems as if he wanted to bow to you."

I shrank back.

"No, he looks off; he thinks you in too bad company!"

"Ah, Mr. Wyndham," cried I, "you should not be so hard-hearted towards him, whoever else may; and I could tell you, and I will tell you if you please, a very forcible reason."

He assented.

"You must know, then, that people there are in this world who scruple not to assert that there is a very strong personal resemblance between Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Hastings; nay, in the profile, I see it myself at this moment; and therefore ought not you to be a little softer than the rest, if merely in sympathy?"

He laughed very heartily ; and owned he had heard of the resemblance before.

“I could take him extremely well,” I cried, “for your uncle.”

“No, no ; if he looks like my elder brother, I aspire at no more.”

“No, no ; he is more like your uncle ; he has just that air ; he seems just of that time of life. Can you then be so unnatural as to prosecute him with this eagerness ?”

And then, once again, I ventured to give him a little touch of Molière’s old woman, lest he should forget that good and honest dame ; and I told him there was one thing she particularly objected to in all the speeches that had yet been made, and hoped his speech would be exempt from.

He inquired what that was.

“Why, she says she does not like to hear every orator compliment another ; every fresh speaker say, he leaves to the superior ability of his successor the prosecution of the business.”

“Oh no,” cried he very readily, “I detest all that sort of adulation. I hold it in the utmost contempt.”

“And, indeed, it will be time to avoid it when your turn comes, for I have heard it in no less than four speeches already.”

And then he offered his assistance about servants and carriages, and we all came away, our different routes ; but my Fredy and Susan must remember my meeting with Mr. Hastings in coming out, and his calling after me, and saying, with a very comic sort of politeness, “I must come here to have the pleasure of seeing Miss Burney, for I see her nowhere else.”

What a strange incident would have been formed had this rencontre happened thus if I had accepted Mr. Wyndham’s offered services ! I am most glad

I had not; I should have felt myself a conspirator to have been so met by Mr. Hastings.

I have nothing more to say of this month. Alas! that I had not had half as much.

May.—On the 17th of this month Miss P—— bade her sad and reluctant adieu to London.¹ The Commemoration Handelian was held at the Pantheon the evening before, and my Royal Mistress most graciously gave me a ticket for her to accompany me thither. My dear father carried us. It was a most melancholy evening to us both.

I gave what time I could command from Miss P——'s departure to my excellent and maternal Mrs. Ord, who supported herself with unabating fortitude and resignation. But a new calamity affected her much, and affected me greatly also, though neither she nor I were more than distant spectators in comparison with the nearer mourners: the amiable and lovely Lady Mulgrave gave a child to her lord, and died, in her first dawn of youthful beauty and sweetness, and exactly a year after she became his wife.² 'Twas, indeed, a tremendous blow. It was all our wonder that Lord Mulgrave kept his senses, as he had not been famed for patience or piety; but I believe he was benignly inspired with both, from his deep admiration of their excellence in his lovely wife.

Mr. and Mrs. Cholmley³ were in the deepest distress, and my dear Mr. and Mrs. Smelt sympathised in their sorrow with the most feeling tenderness. Mr. Smelt, indeed, was the prop and support of

¹ After the death of Mrs. Delany, Miss Port passed to the guardianship of her uncle, Mr. Court Dewes of Wellesbourne, Warwickshire (*A Burney Friendship*, by George Paston, 1902, 12).

² "Poor Lady Mulgrave, married not a year, a little more than eighteen, good, great, beautiful, and happy, died yesterday in child-birth" (Hannah More to her sister, May 22, 1788, *Memoirs*, 1834, ii. 115).

³ Lady Mulgrave's father and mother.

them all. His firm reliance on Providence, his strong and cheerful sense that all is directed for the best, give to him a force and resolution that no misfortune can shake, and that enable him wonderfully to sustain and assist all of feebler dependence or weaker minds.

Once I saw my dear Esther, and I gave her two pretty boys two tickets for the trial. They were given me by the Queen, with permission to dispose of them as I pleased if I did not wish to use them. My wish for using them was all over, save when they could procure me a morning with one of my sisters; for the great delight taken by my ever-animated Mrs. Delany in the accounts I brought her of those days had given a zest to them, which now, being over, made them no longer desirable except for that other purpose.

I made two or three afternoon visits to Chelsea. In one of them I met old Dr. Moncey,¹ who desired to know if I was the Queen's Miss Burney? Yes, thought I, very decidedly!

I must mention a laughable enough circumstance. Her Majesty inquired of me if I had ever met with Lady Hawke? Oh yes, I cried, and Lady Say and Sele too. "She has just desired permission to send me a novel of her own writing," answered Her Majesty.

"I hope," cried I, "'tis not the *Mausoleum of Julia*!"

But yes, it proved no less! and this she has now published and sends about.² You must remember Lady Say and Sele's quotation from it. Her Majesty was so gracious as to lend it me, for I had some curiosity to read it. It is all of a piece—all

¹ Dr. Messenger Moncey (see vol. ii. p. 221).

² See vol. ii. p. 61. Apparently this egregious work was only privately printed (*ib.* p. 63), for there is no trace of it in the British Museum.

love, love, love, unmixed and unadulterated with any more worldly materials.

I read also the second volume of the *Paston Letters*,¹ and found their character the same as in the first, and therefore read them with curiosity and entertainment.

The greater part of the month was spent, alas ! at Windsor, with what a dreary vacuity of heart and of pleasure I need not say. The only period of it in which my spirits could be commanded to revive was during two of the excursions in which Mr. Fairly was of the party ; and the sight of him—calm, mild, nay cheerful, under such superior sorrows—struck me with that sort of edifying admiration that led me, perforce, to the best exertion in my power for the conquest of my deep depression. If I did this from conscience in private, from a sense of obligation to him in public I reiterated my efforts, as I received from him all the condoling softness and attention he could possibly have bestowed upon me had my affliction been equal or even greater than his own.

A terrible period being put to the life of General Carpenter,² who, in a fit, I doubt not, of sudden lunacy, destroyed himself, Colonel Goldsworthy became senior equerry, and Major Garth³ was chosen to supply the vacancy. He came to Windsor on a visit, and to reconnoitre the field of action. He stayed a few days. He is sensible and intelligent. He has travelled much, and converses on the places he has seen very satisfactorily. Colonel Welbred seems gloomy enough now I believe he wants courage to brave the world, more than inclination to stand the chance for himself.

¹ See *ante*, p. 205.

² General Benjamin Carpenter, Clerk-Marshal of the Mews, and Principal Equerry to the King, drowned himself in the Serpentine on March 8, 1788, at the age of seventy-five.

³ See *post*, vol. iv. p. 333.

How people are always living for others, or rather not living at all, lest others should think they live unwisely !

On one of the Egham race days the Queen sent Miss Planta and me on the course, in one of the royal coaches, with Lord Templetown¹ and Mr. Charles Fairly² for our beaux. Lady Templetown³ was then at the Lodge, and I had the honour of two or three conferences with her during her stay.

On the course we were espied by Mr. Crutchley, who instantly devoted himself to my service for the morning—taking care of our places, naming jockeys, horses, bets, plates, etc. etc., and talking between times of Streatham and all the Streathamites, of Mrs. Piozzi, all the Miss Thrales, Mr. Seward, Mr. Selwin, Harry Cotton, Sophy Streatfield, Miss Owen, Sir Philip Clerk, Mr. Murphy, etc. etc.

We were both, I believe, very glad of this discourse. He pointed to me where his house stood, in a fine park, within sight of the race-ground, and proposed introducing me to his sister, who was his housekeeper, and asking me if, through her invitation, I would come to Sunning Hill Park. I assured him I lived so completely in a monastery that I could make no new acquaintance. He then said he expected soon Susan and Sophy Thrale on a visit to his sister, and he presumed I would not refuse coming to see them. I truly answered I should rejoice to do it if in my power, but that most probably I must content myself with meeting them on the Terrace. He promised

¹ John Henry, second Baron Templetown, 1771-1846, at this time seventeen.

² Colonel Digby's eldest son. See *ante*, p. 384.

³ See vol. ii. p. 394. Lady Templetown was related to Mrs. Locke of Norbury.

to bring them there with his sister, though he had given up that walk these five years.

It will give me indeed great pleasure to see them again.

My two young beaus stayed dinner with us, and I afterwards strolled upon the lawn with them till tea-time. I could not go on the Terrace, nor persuade them to go by themselves. We backed as the royal party returned home; and when they had all entered the house, Colonel Welbred, who had stood aloof, quitted the train to join our little society. "Miss Burney," he cried, "I think I know which horse you betted upon! Cordelia!"

"For the name's sake you think it!" I cried; and he began some questions and comments upon the races, when suddenly the window of the tea-room opened, and the voice of Mr. Turbulent, with a most sarcastic tone, called out, "I hope Miss Burney and Colonel Welbred are well!"

We could neither of us keep a profound gravity, though really he deserved it from us both. I turned from the Colonel, and said I was coming directly to the tea-room.

Colonel Welbred would have detained me to finish our race discourse, for he had shut the window when he had made his speech, but I said it was time to go in. "Oh no," cried he, laughing a little, "Mr. Turbulent only wants his own tea, and he does not deserve it for this!"

In, however, I went, and Colonel Manners took the famous chair the instant I was seated. We all began race talk, but Mr. Turbulent, approaching very significantly, said, "Do you want a chair on the other side, ma'am? Shall I tell the—*Colonel*—to bring one?"

"No, indeed!" cried I, half seriously, lest he should do it.

He went away, but presently returning, and

looking towards Colonel Manners, he exclaimed, "How easily a chair may be sat upon, yet not filled!"

He went on to the same purpose, but I made tea, and refused to answer him, till at last he said, "Do, ma'am, accept my proposal! The Colonel will like it extremely; you may take my word for it."

I then gravely begged him to be quiet, and he went his way; but Colonel Welbred, not knowing what had passed, came to that same other side, and renewed his conversation, saying, "I have recollected another horse Miss Burney may have betted upon, 'Rosina!'" and this led on to the race-ground; and thence he proceeded to Madame Krumpholtz the harp-player, who was soon to have a concert, at which he wished me to hear her.

In the midst of all this Mr. Turbulent hastily advanced with a chair, saying, "Colonel Welbred, I cannot bear to see you standing so long."

I found it impossible not to laugh under my hat, though I really wished to bid him stand in a corner for a naughty boy. The Colonel, I suppose, laughed too, whether he would or not, for I heard no answer. However, he took the chair, and finding me wholly unembarrassed by this *polissonnerie*, though not wholly unprovoked by it, he renewed his discourse, and kept his seat till the party, very late, broke up; but Colonel Manners, who knew not what to make of all this, exclaimed, "Why, I see, ma'am, you cannot keep Mr. Turbulent in much order."

My two young beaux stayed as late as they could. Lord Templetown seems perfectly open and well disposed, and little Mr. Fairly has a countenance and manner that promise the fair inheritance of all his father's virtues.

June.—Another Streatham acquaintance, Mr. Murphy,¹ made much effort at this time for a meeting, through Charles, with whom he is lately become very intimate. So much passed about the matter, that I was almost compelled to agree that he should know when I was able to go to St. Martin's Street. He is an extremely agreeable and entertaining man, but of so light a character in morals that I do not wish his separate acquaintance; though, when I met with him at Streatham, as associates of the same friends, I could not but receive much advantage from his notice—amusement rather, I should perhaps say, though there was enough for the higher word, *improvement*, in all but a serious way. However, where, in that serious way, I have no good opinion, I wish not to cultivate, but rather to avoid, even characters in other respects the most captivating. It is not from fearing contagion—they would none of them attack me: it is simply from an internal drawback to all pleasure in their society, while I am considering their talents *at best* as useless.

Mrs. Schwellenberg came to Windsor with us after the birthday, for the rest of the summer.

Mr. Turbulent took a formal leave of me at the same time, as his wife now came to settle at Windsor, and he ceased to belong to our party. He only comes to the Princesses at stated hours, and then returns to his own home. He gave me many serious thanks for the time passed with me, spoke in flourishing terms of its contrast to former times, and vowed no compensation could ever be made him for the hours he had thrown away by compulsion on *The Oyster*.² His behaviour altogether was very well—here and there a little eccentric, but, in the main, merely good-humoured and high-spirited.

¹ See vol. i. p. 91.

² Mrs. Haggerdorn.

I am persuaded there is no manner of truth in the report relative to Mr. Fairly and Miss Fuzilier, for he led me into a long conversation with him one evening when the party was large, and all were otherwise engaged, upon subjects of this nature, in the course of which he asked me if I thought any second attachment could either be as strong or as happy as a first.

I was extremely surprised by the question, and quite unprepared how to answer it, as I knew not with what feelings or intentions I might war by any unwary opinions. I did little, therefore, but evade and listen, though he kept up the discourse in a very animated manner till the party all broke up.

Had I spoken without any consideration but what was general and genuine, I should have told him that my idea was simply this, that where a first blessing was withdrawn by Providence, not lost by misconduct, it seemed to me most consonant to reason, nature, and mortal life, to accept what could come second, in this as in all other deprivations. Is it not a species of submission to the Divine will to make ourselves as happy as we can in what is left us to obtain, where bereft of what we had sought? My own conflict for content in a life totally adverse to my own inclinations is all built on this principle, and when it succeeds, to this owes its success.

I presumed not, however, to talk in this way to Mr. Fairly, for I am wholly ignorant in what manner or to what degree his first attachment may have riveted his affections; but by the whole of what passed it seemed to me very evident that he was not merely entirely without any engagement, but entirely at this time without any plan or scheme of forming any; and probably he never may.

APPENDIX

MISS BURNEY'S ILLNESS

THE following letter from Mrs. Phillips to Dr. Burney was apparently written in 1787, and relates to the illness mentioned at p. 243. It is endorsed: "The Queen's gracious Sick Visit to F. B. and condescending Conference with Mrs. Phillips." It belongs to Archdeacon Burney.

WINDSOR, *Wed^d, Apl. 24, 17[87].*

I was writing to you my dearest Sir yesterday after Dinner in our dear Fanny's Bed Room, as she was lying in the Bed, when I heard Somebody rap at the door—I opened it gently, not to disturb my Patient, &—saw to my great Surprise, I could almost say *dismay*, The Queen—she was alone and stepping a little way from the door made a motion for me to come forward, saying in a low voice don't disturb your sister Mrs. Phillips—let me speak to *you*." I came out & felt myself *glow* most violently, I saw by a little Smile that the Queen perceived how much I was surprised—but her most condescending & encouraging manner in a few minutes overcame my confusion & embarrassment compleatly—Had I time to write about a quire of paper, I should endeavour to recollect & repeat to my dear Father every word that passed—but I must now be content with giving you the *Substance* of an *interview* which lasted I believe twenty Minutes—her Majesty began by enquiring minutely into the state of our poor Fanny's health, and after I had answered all her questions as well as I could, "she cannot think," said she, "of moving to-morrow—she could not Stir, poor thing" I secretly rejoiced at this speech & at the kind manner in which it was Spoken, and did not lose the opportunity of saying how very much mortified she was at the inconveniences her illness occasioned, and how very anxious to be able

to resume her usual office—the Sweet Queen heard me with an appearance of great complacency, and as if she required no assurances of what I said to this purpose—After this she made particular enquiries after every one of my dear Father's children, not forgetting Sally, whom she called "*the little Swiss Girl*"—I was really surprised to find her Majesty so *accurately informed* & that she remembered so well all the answers our Fanny must have made to former enquiries.—She would not permit me to acquaint Fanny as I offered twice to do, of the honour done her, and exclaimed when her little Dogs barked "*How Silly I was to bring these Dogs*" (three, all little things, but great favourites)—I had very soon ventured to place a chair near Her and she very sweetly sat down immediately, and then spoke, and made me Speak to her with a degree of Ease, and of *comfort* which I could not have conceived to have been possible. After I believe near half an hour, she rose, and said, "well, now I will go—you will tell your sister I called upon her, I am very sorry she is *not* better—& at the door she stopt to say "you should walk out"—Concluding she must mean that *Fanny* should I mentioned the Severity of the weather, but hoped that soon . . . "but I meant *you*" said this most gracious of queens—you will otherwise find these rooms quite too close for you"—I spoke my humble thanks as well as I was able, and with a very sweet smile, and condescending *bend* she left me—In great Surprise at the uncommon graciousness and unexpected notice with which I had been honoured.—I am sorry to write anything so interesting in so hasty a manner—I found poor Fanny ready to cry that her weakness had disabled her from rising, and coming in to express her own gratitude—but I rejoiced since she is yet unhappily so weak that she did not attempt it, as it would quite have distressed the Queen, and been too much for herself. I can scarce bear to tell you my dearest Sir that the violent return of the pain in her head, which is I believe rheumatic induced her yesterday to beg Mr. Battiscomb wd send her a Blister for her Back—to this he was sufficiently willing to consent, hoping I believe it would be serviceable likewise in removing the Fever—with much difficulty I prevailed on her to let me sit up with her instead of her little helpless maid, and I am truly glad I succeeded—she had but a sad night—many unrefreshing short dozes, but no good sleep, and suffering what you will be but too able to conceive from the blister—I earnestly hope however that it

will be of great use—she is now sleeping which has enabled me to write so long a letter; though it has been à *plusieurs reprises*, as she has not been so well employed long together. This has been written with so vile a blotting pen, that in any other Situation I could not bring myself to send it—but my dearest Father will I am sure be desirous of knowing every particular I have leisure for writing & will forgive haste and the bad tools I am using.—I take it for granted my Sister Burney hears from your House of our proceedings, and tho I have wished it have not therefore written to her except by a parcel since she left us—indeed I have many anxious Claimants to satisfy, and I know she is always kindly considerate—And you my dearest Sir—our poor Fanny has been better this evening and has eat some asparagus with an appearance of appetite—she sends her best love & duty—pray give mine to my Mother, and my love to the *little Swiss Girl* !

Dr. Burney
St. Martin's St., Leicester Square.

INDEX

- Adam, William, 411, 465
 Ailesbury, Lord, 195
 Amherst, Lady, 487
 Ancaster, Duchess of, 22, 87, 111, 164, 254, 262, 301, 303, 405, 446
 Andrews, Miles, 238
 Angelo's *Memoirs*, 252
 Anguish, Miss Catherine, 303
 Anstruther, [Sir] John, 411, 492
Anticipation, The, R. Tickell's, 469
 Arbuthnot, Dr., 354
 Argand, M. Aimé, 11, 12
 Arline, Mrs., 269
 Ascot races, 257
 Ashley, Mrs., 341, 485, 486, 487
- Backgammon player to His Majesty, 222
 Baker, Sir George, 328
 Baker, Miss, 7, 382, 489
 Baltimore, George Calvert, Lord, 364
 Banks, Sir Joseph, 481
 Barrington, Dr. Shute, Bishop of Salisbury, 299
 Bath, Marquis, *see* Weymouth
 Batt, Mr., 128, 395
 Battiscomb, Mr., 152, 160
 Beattie, Dr. James, 280, 282, 283, 285, 310
 Beauclerk, Lady Diana, 119 n.
 Beauclerk, Miss, 461
 Beaufort, Dowager Duchess of, 107-8
 Bedlam, 26
 Bertie, Lady Charlotte, 262, 303
 Blancherie, *see* Lablancherie
 Blomberg, Rev. Mr., 60, 79
 Bogle, Mr. and Mrs., 406
 Bolton, [Sir] George, 72
 Bonneville, Nicolas de, 204, 217
- Boscawen, Mrs., 394
 Boscawen, Miss Anne, 170
 Boswell, James, 133, 219, 281
 Bouverie, Mr., 298
 Bowdler, Miss Henrietta Maria or Harriet, 20, 216
 Brooke, Lord, 157 n.
 Bruce, James, his *Travels*, 248
 Brudenell, Mrs., 460
 Brudenell, Miss, 460, 461
Brussels Gazette, 272
 Bryant, Jacob, 4, 113, 114, 115, 150, 207-8, 209, 238, 250, 258, 261, 284, 285, 286, 287, 364, 490
 Budé, General, 26, 35, 36, 38, 39, 42, 47, 54, 60, 61, 63, 79, 104, 111, 114, 124, 125, 132, 135, 140, 154, 157, 180, 242, 253, 256, 280, 288, 302, 308, 316, 325, 327, 343, 355
 Bull, Miss, 216
 Bunbury, Henry William, 303, 304, 308, 316, 323, 324-5, 331; his *Propagation of a Lie*, 481
 Burgoyne, General John, 411, 447
 Burke, Edmund, 271, 411, 417, 429, 432, 440, 446, 447, 448; his eloquence, 451; 452, 453, 454, 457, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466-7, 471, 472, 479, 493, 495, 496
 Burke, Richard, 417, 448
 Burney, Anna Maria [niece of Frances], 357
 Burney, Archdeacon, 408, 507
 Burney, Dr. Charles, father of Frances, 73 n., 81, 97, 108, 128, 143, 145-6, 148, 149, 158-9, 162, 163, 178, 214, 217, 239, 277, 279, 301, 332, 337, 340, 356, 388, 393, 395, 406, 408, 460, 492, 499

Burney, Charles, brother of Frances, 187, 277, 357, 408, 416, 418, 420, 450 n., 505
 Burney, Charles Rousseau, 356
 Burney, Charlotte, *see* Francis, Mrs.
 Burney, Captain James, 91, 109, 248, 359, 371 n., 446, 447, 449, 451, 457, 465
 Burney, Mrs. James, 91
 Burney, Miss Esther (Hetty or Etty), 243, 245, 357, 489, 500
 Burney, Miss Sarah Harriet (step-sister to Frances), 356, 460, 461
 Burney, Susan, *see* Phillips
 Burney, Frances (afterwards Madame D'Arblay), first experience as a reader to the Queen, 6; new system of life, 9; tyranny of colleague, kindness of the Queen, embarrassed life, 9-10; consults the Queen as to Mme. de Genlis, 15-17; inspects Sir William Herschel's telescope, 18; at house of Warren Hastings, 19; jealousy through her appointment, 19; reserved manner at common table, 20; delight in Mrs. Delany's company, 22; meets Mme. la Roche, 24, 54; discourages attempts to gain her interest for Royal interviews, 33-4; in sole attendance on Queen, 34, 50, 55; miscarriage of a Queen's command invitation, 39-42; care of Queen's jewel box, 48, 51; illness, 52, 160-1, 242, 507; Royal hint to sing the praises of the great-coat, 57, 90, 95-6, 149; few evenings at own disposal, 58; entertainment of equerries and court officials at tea-table, 58; servant's officiousness and result, 62-63; assists Mrs. Delany with early papers, surprised by the King, 69-70, 104; knowledge of characters in *Observer* sought by Queen, 70-72; lends copy of Dr. Burney's *German Tour* to Royal Family, 74-6; her lilac tabby gown, 77; Queen's gift of violets, 77-78;

misadventure, 83; reads to the Queen, 87; Royal chat on dress, 88; visit to Chessington, 90-2; first negligence in Royal attendance 98; a Royal summons, 101; Norbury fairings, 101; receives gift of a writing-box from Queen, 106; a party of new acquaintance, 111; enjoys the company of Mr. Dewes and Mr. Bryant, 113-115; a discussion on the female character, 115-119; disapproves of Walpole's *The Mysterious Mother*, 120; meets Mrs. Kennicott, 122, 124; renews acquaintance with Lady Bute and Lady Louisa Stuart, 123; remarks on *Hamlet*, 124; an evening at Mrs. Delany's, 125-6; pirating of *Cecilia* in Ireland, 127, 128; urged to prosecute, 128-9; attempted extortion, 129-130; her association with "Mr. Turbulent," 131; her apartments visited by the Queen, 132-3; Royal gift of sermons, 133, 137; evades entertainment of Bishop Hurd, 134-5; visited by Bishop Hurd, 135; private conversation with Queen, 136; takes sacrament on Christmas Day, 137; first receipt of salary, 142-3; receives father's first visit at Windsor, 145; witnesses King's New Year offering in Chapel Royal, Windsor, 152-3; entertains Bishop of Worcester, Sir B. West, and Mr. Smelt, 154-5; Queen's New Year gift, 155; Queen and Princesses visit her apartments, 157; second visit of Dr. Burney to Windsor, 158-9; King's interview, 158-9; soliloquy consequent on Royal employment, 161-2; presents birthday poem by Dr. Burney to the Queen, 163; duty at Queen's birthday ceremonies, 163-4; short-sight, 165; misadventure with drunken chairmen, 166-169; discusses Mme. de Genlis with "Mr. Turbulent," 172-173; also religion,

174-176; pressed by "Mr. Turbulent" to enlarge her tea-parties, 178-180, 188-193, 201, 215; consults Queen on cultivation of friendships and society, 180-1, 203-4; resolves as to friends and social circle, 182-3; mind conformed to her position, 206; evades "Mr. Turbulent" as a travelling companion, 213; irritated by "Mr. Turbulent," 233-237; visits the play, 216, 238; King's thought for her health, 246-7; congratulatory visits on recovering, 248; Mme. la Fite presents her *Eugénie et ses Elèves*, 250; King's birthday ceremonial, 251-4; social intercourse with members of the Court, 255-266; depressing effect of Mrs. Schwellenberg, 266, 288; introduced to Colonel Gwynn, 274; meets M. de Lablancherie, 276; Queen's gift of pen and inkstand, 279; meets Dr. Beattie, 281-233, 285; visit to Mr. Bryant, 284, 286-7; disconcerting action of "Mr. Turbulent," 289, 290, 292, 293-4, 302, 312-15, 318-321, 375-8; entertains Mrs. Siddons, 305-307; meets Harry Bunbury, 308, 323, 325; effect of a Royal birthday, 308; attitude towards Mme. de Genlis, 308-9; an evening with Dr. Herschel, 322-3; a bow from the Prince of Wales, 326; Queen's condescension and gift, 327-8; distributes "fairings," 330-1; takes cold when travelling with Mrs. Schwellenberg, her brusqueness, 332, 336, 338-340, 342-3, 346, and tyrannous conduct, 346-7, 349; mischievous news paragraphs, 332, 333-6; weakness of eyes, 344; recovery, 349; close attachment to Mrs. Delany, 354, 355; intercourse with Queen Charlotte, 354, 355; desire to resume social intercourse outside the Court, 357; New Year's gift from Queen, 359, and from

Mrs. Ord, 358; *tête-à-tête* with Colonel "Welbred," 361-3; Queen seeks commentary on Mrs. Thrale's letters, 367; feelings towards Mrs. Piozzi, 372-374; discusses life and death with "Mr. Fairly," 379-381; meets old friends at Mrs. Ord's, 393-5; sees Mrs. Siddons as "Portia," 401; retained for conversation by the Queen, 402; Lent the only Court period spent in town, 406; reminiscences of the trial of Warren Hastings, 408-445; relates them to the Queen, 445; Queen grants tickets for the trial, 408, 446; further reminiscences, 446-458, 461-480

Burney, Frances, letters of, 8, 72
Burrell, Sir Peter, 408, 409, 410, 446

Burrows family, 344

Bute, Lady, 123, 246, 343, 345, 388

Cadell and Payne, Messrs., 127

Cagliostro, Count (Giuseppe Balsamo), 26

Caillaud, Brigadier-General John, 452 *n.*

Cambridge, Richard Owen, 4, 71, 79, 122, 183, 299, 394, 395

Cambridge, Miss, 36, 171, 386, 488

Cambridge, Charles, 299

Cambridge, Mrs. Charles, 394

Campbell, Lady Augusta, 405

Campo, Signor del, 256, 288, 289, 302, 325, 326

Canning, George, 295

Caps, ladies', 404

Carlisle, Douglas, Bishop of, 366, 373

Carlton, Lady Maria, 275

Carpenter, General Benjamin, 501

Carter, Mrs. Elizabeth, 395

Cary, General, 248, 487

Cecilia, Miss Burney's, 27, 28, 127, 129, 130, 203, 238, 279, 287, 307, 480

Century of time, its commencement, 79

- Chairmen, 165, 169
 Chamberlayn, Miss, 122
 Chapone, Mrs., 281, 344, 395
 Chatterton, Thomas, 4 *n.*
 Chessington, 81, 89, 92, 97
 Chester, Bishop of, 240
 Chesterfield, Philip Stanhope, fifth Earl, 382
 Chetwyn, Hon. Mrs. Deborah, 170
 Cheveley, Mrs., 37, 49, 51, 86, 87, 94, 98, 122, 159, 252, 308, 355
 Cholmley, Mr. and Mrs., 499
 Cholmley, Mrs., 240, 389, 395
 Cholmley, Miss, 217, 267, *see* Mulgrave, Lady
 Cholmondeley, Mrs., 479
Christian Religion, Beattie's *Evidences of the*, 310
 Clanbrassil, Lady, 255
 Claremont, Lady, 409 *n.*, 410, 412, 416
 Clarks, Miss, 255
 Clavering, General, 405 *n.*
 Clayton, Lady Louisa, 350
 Clayton, Miss Emily, 78, 213, 242, 350
 Clayton, Miss Marianne, 78
 Claytons, the, 295
 Clunch, 280
 Columb, Jacob, 344
 Conway, General Henry Seymour, 209
 Conyers, Lady Harriet, 213
 Cook, Capt. James, 481 *n.*
 Cooke, Kitty, 91
 Copes, the, 436
 Cossey [Costessey] Hall, Norfolk, 185 *n.*
 Covent Garden Theatre, 216
 Courtenay, Lady Elizabeth, 317
 Courtown, Lord, 114
 Courtown, Lady, 156
 Cox's *Travels*, Archdeacon William, 22, 114
 Crawford, Mr., 303, 304, 308
 Crewe, Mrs. Frances Anne, 465, 466, 479, 480
 Crisp, Samuel, 90, 407
Critic, Sheridan's, 51
 Crutchley, Mr., 417, 420, 437, 449, 450, 502
 Cumberland, Richard, 71, 72 *n.*
 Dallas, Chief-Justice Sir Robert, 441 *n.*
Death of Abel, The, Gesner's, 402
 Delany, Mrs., 3, 7, 13, 15, 21, 26, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 45, 51, 54, 55, 58, 59, 60, 68, 69, 79, 81, 83, 89, 94, 95, 97, 99, 100, 102, 103, 105, 109, 113, 114, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 132, 135, 136, 137, 138, 141, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 157, 158, 159, 160, 185, 186, 203, 206, 239, 246, 255, 268, 272, 273, 276, 277, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 286, 290, 292, 295, 298, 302, 307, 310, 311, 315, 317, 321, 323, 325, 326, 341, 342, 343, 348, 353-4, 355, 360, 362, 363, 368, 372, 373, 374, 379, 401, 405, 416, 482, 483, 484-5, 487, 488, 500; *Autobiography and Correspondence*, 69, 368
 Deptford, 187 *n.*
 Dewes, Bernard, 111, 113, 114
 Dewes, Court, 499
 Dickenson, Mrs., 334
 Digby, Canon Charles, 384 *n.*
 Digby, Col. Stephen, *see* Fairly
 Douglas, Dr., 248, *see* Carlisle
 Drake, George, 489
 Draugher, a man-servant, 39
 Drawing-Room, 301
 Duncan, Lady Mary, 216
 Ebers, Frederick, 207, 220
 Effingham, Lady, 98, 110, 111, 317, 405, 461
 Egerton, Miss Ariana, 111, 139, 298, 461, 464
 Egham races, 502
 Elliot, Sir Gilbert [Earl of Minto], 411, 417
 Eton, 295
Eugénie et ses Élèves, Mme. la Fite's, 249
Evelina, Miss Burney's, 287, 491
 "Fairly, Mr." [Colonel Stephen Digby], 160, 311, 312, 369, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 385, 386, 390, 461, 481, 489, 501, 506
 Fairly [*i.e.* Digby], Charles, 502
Farmers, The Two, Mrs. Trimmer, 110

- Farren, Miss Elizabeth, 239
 Fawcett, General, 298, 302
 Feilding, Mrs., 24, 164, 258, 461
 Felbrigge Park, 419 *n.*, 451
 Ferdinand, Archduke, 42, 46
 Finch, Lady Charlotte, 350 *n.*
 Finch, Miss, 24, 36, 37-8, 325
 Fisher, Rev. John [Bishop of Salisbury], 2, 14, 20, 21, 22, 35, 42, 43, 47, 60, 61, 63-4, 79, 92, 93, 97, 124, 137, 278, 327, 355, 356, 369, 370, 372, 387, 388
 Fisher, Mrs., 355, 369
 Fite, Madame de la, 11, 12, 13, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 38, 53, 54, 79, 80, 87, 105, 111, 122, 203 *n.*, 217, 248, 250, 253, 261, 268, 276, 290, 310, 322, 325, 327, 330, 350, 351, 368
 Fitzgerald, Mr. Percy, 57 *n.*
 Fondlings, 362
 Foss, Mr., 127
 Fox, C. J., 411, 456, 457, 461, 462, 463, 464, 473, 475, 480
 Fox, Colonel Henry Edward, 78
 Francis, Sir Philip, 427-8
 Francis, Clement (brother-in-law to Miss Burney), 19, 427, 451, 492
 Francis, Mrs., *née* Charlotte Burney, 18, 19, 142, 359, 419, 461, 483
 Freuss, Mme., 277, 279
 Frogs, story of the, 275, 362
 "Fuzilier, Miss," *i.e.* Charlotte M. Gunning, 461, 506

Gaberlunzie Man, The, 50
 Gainsborough, Thomas, 252
Garde Nationale, 204 *n.*
 Garrick's *Heart of Oak*, 272
 Garrick, Mrs., 122, 393
 Garter, Order of the, 153
 Garth, Major, 501
 Genlis, Mme. de, 12, 13, 14, 15-16, 17, 25, 118, 172, 262, 308, 309, 319
 George III., King, 11, 17, 38, 45, 46, 57, 67, 68, 74, 75, 94, 95, 112, 113, 125, 133, 136, 137, 138, 145, 146, 153, 154, 158, 159, 162, 163, 126, 187, 200, 202, 210, 216, 222, 227, 239, 242, 251, 259, 268, 273, 284, 298, 300, 316, 326, 327, 328, 385, 403, 404, 482, 487
German Tour, Dr. Burney's, 73, 74, 214
 Gesner, Salomon, 402 *n.*
 Gibbon, Dr., 209
 Goldsworthy, Colonel Philip, 42, 43, 47, 54, 60, 61, 63, 64-5, 66-68, 79, 104, 105, 111, 114, 124, 125, 132, 135, 138, 139, 154, 190, 216, 246, 247, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 263, 264, 266, 275, 304, 308, 348, 356, 389, 401, 402, 403, 404, 501
 Goldsworthy, Miss, 47, 58 *n.*, 80, 86, 97, 111, 239, 244, 247, 252, 301, 330, 401
 Gomme, Miss J., 19, 84, 97, 109, 110, 216, 252, 409, 415, 417
 Gordon, Lord George, 26
Grandison, Sir Charles, Richardson's, 128 *n.*, 129 *n.*
 Granville, Mary, *see* Delany
 Gray, Mr., Surveyor-General, 222, 291
 Grenville, General, 297, 298, 299, 302, 307, 308, 387
 Greville, Hon. Charles Francis, 214 *n.*, 240 *n.*
 Greville, Colonel Robert Fulke, *see* "Wellbred, Colonel"
 Grey, Charles, second Earl, 411, 474
 Griffith, Rev. Mr., 184
 Guadagni, Gaetano, 75
 Guiche, Mme. de, 262, 263
 Guiffardière, Charles de, *see* "Turbulent, Mr."
 Gunning, Miss Charlotte, *see* "Fuzilier"
 Gutermann, Maria Sophia, *see* Roche, 23 *n.*
 Gwyn, Colonel, 274, 275, 280, 288, 302, 304, 308, 311, 316, 401
 Gwyn, Mrs., 281, 307, 311, 401, 481

 Haggerdorn, Mrs., 31, 32, 38, 39, 134, 156, 168, 190, 201, 212, 214, 219, 338, 340, 401
 Hamilton, Sir William, 261
 Hamilton, Mrs., 91
 Hammersmith, 187 *n.*
 Handel Commemoration, 301, 499

- Hanover Square, 240 *n.*
 Harcourt, Lord, 1, 120
 Harcourt, Lady, 311
 Harcourt, General, 6, 262, 307, 384, 385, 387
 Harcourt, Mrs., 262, 267, 307, 331
 Harley, Dr., Bishop of Hereford, 369
 Harris, Lady, 216
 Hastings, Warren, 19 *n.*, 271, 396, 407 *n.*, 408, 412, 414, 415, 416, 417, 420, 421, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 433, 435, 436, 437, 442, 443, 444, 445, 452, 454, 458, 462, 463, 465, 469, 471, 474, 494, 497; *Memoir of India*, 188
 Hastings, Mrs., 2, 14, 19
 Hawke, Lady, 500
 Hawkesbury, Charles Jenkinson, Lord 422
 Hawkins, Sir John, *Life of Johnson*, 219
 Hayes, Horace, 101, 130
 Hayes, Mrs., 130
 Heberden, Dr. William, 258, 261, 273
 Heberden, Mrs. and Miss, 38, 262
 Hemming, Rev. Samuel, 36 *n.*
 Hemming, Mrs., 36, 386
 Herbert, Lord, 298
 Herbert, Mrs., 170, 461
 Herries, Lady, 255, 395
 Herschel, Sir William, 17, 18, 23, 147, 258, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 295, 322
 Herschel, Miss Caroline, 147, 322
 Hill, Miss Ellen, 9, 92
 Holcroft, Thomas, 238 *n.*
 Holderness, Lady, widow of fourth Earl, 388
 Horneck, Mrs., 274, 281
 Horneck, Catherine, 304
 Hotham, Colonel, 256, 298
 Howard, Sir George, 262, 317, 354
 Howard, Lady Frances, 98, 99, 354
 Howard, Richard (later fourth Earl of Effingham), 110, 111
 Hulse, Colonel, 302
 Hume, 74
Humourist, The, James Cobb, 401, 402, 403
 Hurd, Richard, Bishop of Worcester, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 141, 143, 144, 148, 154, 155, 186, 299, 359, 483 *n.*, 487
Immutability of Truth, Beattie, 280, 281, 285
 Impey, Sir Elijah, 444
 Inchbald's, Mrs., *Such Things Are*, 216
 Jarvis's glass, Thomas, 152
 Jebb, Sir Richard, 53, 267, 274, 279
 Jerningham, Mr., 135
John Bull, Arbuthnot's, 354
 Johnson, Dr. Samuel, 71, 121, 133, 174, 281, 309, 399, 419 *n.*, 420, 442, 476; *Letters to and from Mrs. Piozzi*, 356, 366, 373, 378, 393, 483
 Jordan, Mrs., 308, 385, 386 *n.*
 Kennicott, Dr. Benjamin, 122
 Kennicott, Mrs., 122, 124, 299, 350
 Kew, 49, 81, 130, 286, 292; Green, 86
 Kirby, John Joshua, 110 *n.*
 Krumpholtz, Madame, 504
 Lablancherie, F. C. C. P. C. de, 276
 Letter of, 277
La Coquette corrigée, J. B. de la Noue, 224, 226
 Lake, Colonel, 298, 302, 303
 Lamballe, Mme. la Princesse de, 300
 Langton, Bennet, 373, 395
 Lavant, Sussex, 394
 Law, Chief-Justice Sir Edward, 441 *n.*
 Lemman, Mrs., 129-130
 Le Tessier, 308
 Lightfoot, John, 221, 222, 323, 349, 490
 Lind, Dr. James, 221, 295, 383
 Locke, William, 9, 11, 18, 22, 51, 174, 183, 188, 198, 249, 272, 286, 309, 326, 368, 394, 401, 486
 Locke, William, jun., 324, 330, 482
 Locke, Mrs., 9, 22, 51, 77, 100,

- 171, 198, 227, 240, 243, 244,
245, 249, 272, 306, 315, 322,
330, 331, 341, 351, 393, 394,
401, 483, 497
Lockman, Canon, 136
Long, Dudley, 411, *see* North
Lord Chamberlain, 195, 291
Luc, M. Jean André de, 31, 47,
97, 107, 108, 115, 117, 121, 127,
130, 147, 152, 157, 162, 187,
221, 223, 247, 253, 255, 263,
278, 292, 293, 311, 336, 337,
338, 339, 341, 347, 374
Luc, Mrs. de, 6, 17, 20, 85, 276,
339, 345
Luc, Miss de, 369
Lumm, Lady, 194

Macaulay, Lord, 77 *n.*
Majendie, Rev. Canon [Bishop of
Chester], 136, 152
Majendie, Mrs., 152
Makentomb [Mackenthun], Miss,
101
Maling, Mrs. Christopher, 356
Manners, Colonel Robert, 242,
255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261,
263, 264, 265, 268, 270, 274,
490, 503, 504
Manners of the Great, H. More's
Thoughts on, 460
Markham, Archbishop of York, 423
Marriages, second, 506
Mason, Rev. Wm., 70, 388 *n.*
Mathias, Gabriel, 142
Mathias, Thomas James, 142
Maty, Paul Henry, 187
Mausoleum of Julia, Lady Hawke's,
500
Mawer, Miss, 3, 327
Memoirs of Eradut Khan, 326
Mexborough, Elizabeth, Lady, 298
Microcosm, *The*, 121, 122 *n.*, 295
Minstrel, *The*, Beattie's, 280, 282,
283
Mithoff, M., 39, 40, 41, 42, 43,
82
Modena, Duchess Ferdinand, Prin-
cess of, 42, 46
Molière, 470, 474, 475, 498
Molyneux, Sir Francis, 413
Monckton, Miss, 305, 419
Money, 142
Monsey, Dr. Messenger, 500

Montagu, George, first Duke, 78,
82, 83, 111, 112, 298, 302, 307,
308
Montagu, Fred., 411, 416
Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, 123
Montagu, Mrs. Elizabeth, 70, 71,
105, 197, 238, 240, 394
Montmoulin, Mlle., 85, 97, 145,
244, 247, 252, 359, 379, 401
More, Miss Hannah, 122, 187 *n.*,
217, 254 *n.*, 256 *n.*, 267 *n.*,
373 *n.*, 460, 466 *n.*
Mornington, Lord, Richard Colley
Wellesley, 286
Mosaic flowers, 487
Mother, The Mysteries, Walpole's,
119, 120, 121, 254 *n.*
Mulgrave, Constantine, second
Lord, 267, 389, 395, 499
Mulgrave, Lady, *née* Miss Cholm-
ley, 299, 389, 395, 499
Murphy, Arthur, 505
Music in Germany, Dr. Burney's
Present State of, 73
Myers, Miss, 345
Mystery Plays, 365

Naples, King of, 329
New Review of 1782, 187
Newton, Sir Isaac, 260
Newton House, 399
Nicolay, Mr., 170
Norbury Park, 152, 203, 227, 247,
248, 250, 381
North, Frederick, Lord, 495
North, Colonel Dudley Long, 411,
465
North, Mrs., 123, 216

Observer, The, R. Cumberland's,
71, 72
Ogden's *Sermons*, Rev. Samuel,
133, 137
Olla Podrida, Thomas Monro, 305
Orange Street Chapel, 92
Oratorios, 216, 446
Ord, Mrs., 171, 183, 217, 255,
279, 357, 388, 389, 393, 446,
488, 499
Ord, Miss, 183, 279, 393

Palmer, Miss, 307
Pantheon, *The*, 499
Pasquale's, Francis, Oratorio, 216

- Paston Letters*, 205-6, 206 *n.*, 207, 209, 501
- Payne, Miss Sally, 91
- Pelham, 411
- Pembroke, Lady, 283
- Penn, Lady Juliana, 255
- Pepys, Dr. [Sir Lucas], 295, 395, 458
- Pepys, Mr. [Sir William Weller], 393
- Pepys, Mrs., 394
- Percy, Dr., Bishop of Dromore, 281
- Phillips, Captain Molesworth, 55, 213, 217, 254
- Phillips, Mrs., *née* Susan Burney, 77, 78, 90, 91, 243, 244, 245, 250, 272, 284, 315, 322, 330, 341, 351, 359, 406
Letter of, 507
- Pike, Captain, 291
- Piozzi, Mrs., 240, 278, 328, 418, 437
- Pitt, William, 426, 473, 495
- Planta, Joseph, 184 *n.*
- Planta, Mrs., 184
- Planta, Miss Margaret, 31, 32, 34, 35, 49, 54, 85, 93, 97, 103, 107, 108, 109, 113, 115, 116, 127, 130, 136, 137, 145, 148, 157, 158, 160, 177, 178, 179, 182, 184 *n.*, 188, 192, 194, 198, 199, 208, 216, 218, 220, 228, 231, 232, 233, 236, 237, 242, 244, 249, 250, 251, 255, 278, 287, 311, 314, 327, 329, 333, 334, 337, 338, 339, 340, 342, 343, 344, 359, 379, 402, 404, 405, 407, 502
- Plumer, Sir Thomas, 441 *n.*
- Plymouth, Other Lewis, fourth Lord, 365
- Poetry*, Twining's translation of Aristotle on, 399
- Polignac, Duc de, 262
- Polignac, Madame La Duchesse de, 262, 263
- Port, Miss, 58, 64, 77, 79, 83, 132, 138, 139, 143, 145, 152, 262, 263, 265, 268, 273, 288, 295, 297, 308, 310, 323, 346, 360, 395, 483, 486, 488, 499
- Porteus, Dr. Beilby, Bishop of Chester, then of London, 393 *n.*, 394, 397
- Porteus, Mrs., 240, 393
- Portland, Duke of, 464
- Portland, Dowager Duchess of, 16, 68, 69, 144
- Price, Major William, 2, 3, 14, 35, 36, 38, 39, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 141, 190, 220, 221, 222, 227, 231, 266, 274, 275, 299
- Prince of Wales, George Augustus Frederick, 87, 163, 256, 262, 263, 298, 300, 301, 302, 326, 332, 336, 412
- Princess Amelia (King's aunt), 84
- Princess Amelia, 37, 45, 48, 51, 55, 83, 87, 94-5, 98, 100, 102, 104, 113, 122, 126, 148, 149, 159, 252, 267, 268, 276, 290, 300, 308, 330, 355
- Princess Augusta, 18, 78, 89, 95, 98, 101, 102, 137, 143, 162, 163, 211, 223, 226, 227, 238, 246, 252, 254, 267, 300, 331
- Princess Elizabeth, 13-14, 33, 52, 72, 73, 76, 80, 86, 88, 99, 105, 156, 163, 239, 247, 252, 254, 262, 267, 299, 407
Letters of, 33 *n.*
- Princess Mary, 19, 83, 84, 104, 252, 262, 330
- Princess Royal [Charlotte Augusta Matilda], 26, 27, 33, 36, 43, 44-5, 46, 51, 52, 71, 78, 87, 115, 163, 177, 208, 254, 267, 300
- Princess Sophia, 19, 83, 252, 330
- Provoked Husband, The*, Vanbrugh's and Cibber's, 307
- Probationary Odes*, 493
- Queen Charlotte, 3, 5, 6, 7, 14, 15, 31, 33, 34, 39, 42, 48, 50, 55-6; her birthday poems, 57 *n.*; 57-8, 70, 71, 72, 74-5, 88, 89, 99, 103, 105, 106, 113, 119, 121, 124, 126, 127, 132, 136, 138, 140, 145, 149, 150, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 162, 163, 164, 165, 176-7, 180, 186, 187, 195, 203, 206, 216, 221, 227, 239, 245, 246, 251, 253, 272, 273, 279, 284, 291, 292, 297, 299, 303, 305, 306, 309, 310, 317, 327, 329, 331, 333, 343, 345, 348, 349, 350, 358, 359, 367, 372, 373, 402, 407, 435, 445, 446, 459, 461, 482, 483, 487, 496, 497, 499, 500, 507, 508

Quotations from Christopher Smart's Fable, 201; Beattie's *Minstrel*, 283; Swift's verses to a Lady, 362; Churchill's *Prophecy of Famine*, 363; Pope's *Dunciad*, 398; Colman and Garrick's *Clandestine Marriage*, 463 n.; Pope's *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, 239 n.

Ramsden, Colonel, 255, 256, 259
 Ramus, Mr., 165, 168
Religion considérée, etc., Mme. Genlis's, 262, 309
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 84, 240, 305, 307, 393, 416
 Reynolds, Miss Frances, 281
 Richardson, Samuel, 128 n.
 Richmond Gardens, 99
 Rishton, Mrs., née Maria Allen, 171
 Roberts, Dr. William Hayward, Provost of Eton, 4, 111, 112, 122, 124
 Roberts, Mrs., 112, 295
 Robinson, Crabbe, 23 n.
 Robinson, Mrs., née Harris, 216
Robinson, Le Nouveau, 53
 Roche, Madame de la (Maria Sophia Gutermann), 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33-4, 53, 54, 351
 Roland, Mme., 276 n., 351
 Romney, George, R.A., 214
 Rose, Samuel, 450
 Rothes, Lady, 170, 181, 183, 295, 394
 Rudd, Mrs. Margaret Caroline, 219

Sacharissa, 487
 Sackville, Lord George, 71
 St. George's Chapel, Windsor, 84
 St. James's Palace, 131, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254
 St. Leger, Colonel, 302, 303
 St. Martin's Street, 356, 366 n., 406, 435
 Salisbury, Lord, 410 n.
 Salisbury, Bishop of, 299
 Saussure, M. Horace de, 374
 Say and Sele, Lady, 500
 Schrawder, M., 42
 Schwellenberg, Mrs., 2, 6, 9, 14, 18, 19, 25, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 39, 42, 43, 47, 48, 51, 55, 58, 77, 83, 93, 103, 134, 155, 157,

162 n., 177, 184, 212, 218, 223, 247, 255, 266, 268, 269, 273, 274, 277, 287, 288, 289, 294, 300, 302, 303, 305, 307, 311, 312, 316, 318, 321, 326, 327, 330, 332, 336, 337, 339, 340, 341, 344, 346-7, 349, 355, 358, 359, 362, 363, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 372, 373, 377, 382, 401, 405, 409, 480, 505
 Scott, Mrs., *Filial Duty*, 280
 Scott, Major John, 423, 427
Seduction, Thomas Holcroft's, 238
Servant's Friend, Mrs. Trimmer's, 110
 Service, 97
 Seward, Mr., 281, 366
 Shakespeare, 124, 308
 Shepherd, Rev. Canon Antony, 316-17, 325
 Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, 411, 479
 Siddons, Mrs., 71 n., 305, 307, 385, 401
 Smart, Christopher, *Fables*, 201
 Smelt, Leonard, 81, 82, 89, 95, 98, 99, 100, 102, 108, 120, 128, 132, 133, 134, 135, 145, 148, 150, 152, 153, 155, 162, 174, 181, 182, 183, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 207, 208, 213, 217, 242, 266, 299, 300, 301, 309, 358, 359, 395, 435, 488, 499
 Smelt, Mrs., 50, 51, 89, 97, 98, 107, 115, 116, 127, 133, 138, 438, 499
 Smelts, The, 49, 50, 81, 82, 94, 97, 115, 120, 127, 130, 136, 137, 138
Spectator, The, 6
 Spencer, Lady Elizabeth, 210
 Stainforth, Mrs., 164, 338
 Stanhope, Mr., 109, 240, 279, 358
 Steele, Sir Richard, 87, 124 n.
 Strange, Sir Robert, 198
 Strawberryhill Press, 119 n., 254
 Stuart, Lady Louisa, 123, 246, 343, 345
 Sullivan, 413
 Sumner, 413
 Swift, Dean, 70, 354

Tancred and Sigismunda, Thomson's, 51
Tatler, The, 86, 124

- Taylor, Michael Angelo, 411, 492
 Telescope, Herschel's great, 147, 148
 Templetown, second Lord, 227, 502, 504
 Templetown, Elizabeth, Lady, 325, 326, 502
 Thackeray, Mrs., 343, 344
 Thielky, Mrs., 97, 157
 Thompson, Sir Charles Hotham, 256
 Thrale, Henry, 366
 Thrale, Mrs., 281, 327, 356, 370, 371, 373, *see* Piozzi
 Thrale, Miss Sophy, 502
 Thrale, Miss Susan, 502
 Thurlow, Lord Chancellor, 413, 421, 422, 462
 Tickell, Richard, 469 *n.*
 Tottenham Street Oratorios, 216, 217
 Tracy, Mrs., 170, 460
 Tremblai, Monsieur, 272
 Trial of Warren Hastings, 408-445, 447-453, 461-480
 Trimmer, Mrs. Sarah, 110, 327, 328
 "Turbulent, Mr." [*i. e.* Charles de Guiffardière], 79, 92, 107, 108, 115-118, 121, 127, 130, 171, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 187, 188, 193, 205, 208, 211, 213, 215, 221, 223-226, 228, 243, 247, 248, 249, 250, 253, 255, 286, 287, 292, 302, 310, 311, 312, 318, 319, 320-21, 328, 342, 351, 366, 372, 374, 390, 407, 481, 490, 503, 505
 Turbulent, Mrs., 272
 Turton, Dr., 159, 160
 Twining, Rev. Mr., 337, 406
 Letter of, 396-399
 Tryon, Miss, 461
 Vandyke, 252
 Vanessa, 71, 105
 Vernon, Miss, 1
 Vesey, Mrs., 232, 254, 411
 Voltaire, *Letters of Certain Jews to*, 207
 Waldegrave, Lady Elizabeth, 143, 262
 Walpole, Horace, 121, 209 *n.*, 254, 300 *n.*, 395; *The Mysterious Mother*, 119, 120, 121, 254 *n.*
 Walsingham, Lord, 458; Lord and Lady, 295
 Walsingham, Mrs., 7
 Warton, Dr. Joseph, 4, 5, 48
 Warwick, Earl of, 157 *n.*
 "Welbred, Colonel" [*i. e.* Colonel Robert Fulke Greville], 157, 177, 178, 179, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 205, 213, 215, 220, 221, 222, 231, 232, 240, 253, 256, 258, 259, 261, 263, 264, 265, 266, 268, 269, 270, 356, 359, 360, 361-2, 363, 369, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 388, 402-3, 481, 482, 490, 501, 503, 504
 Werter, Goethe's, 325
 West, Sir Benjamin, 34, 152, 154, 155, 254
 Westminster Hall, 409-12
 Weymouth, Thomas, Lord, 69
 Weymouth, Elizabeth, Lady, 69, 262
 Willy, a ballad of Miss Burney's, 330
 Wieland, 23 *n.*, 28
 William IV., Prince, afterwards King, 13
 Wilson, Rev. Dr., 136
 Windham, William, 411, 419, 420-34, 435, 436, 437, 438-445, 447, 448, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454-457, 461, 462, 466, 467, 468-471, 472, 473, 475, 476, 486, 490, 491, 493, 494, 495, 496-7
 Windsor, 19, 230
 Worcester, Bishop of, *see* Hurd
 Wright, Mrs. Patience, 71
 Wyndham, William, *see* Windham, William
 York, H. R. H. Frederick Augustus, Duke of, 3, 297, 299, 301, 304, 308, 311, 323, 324, 333, 334, 388, 405, 406
 Young, Dr. Edward, 70
 Young, Mr., an apothecary, 273

Date Due

[illegible]

Demco 38-297

v.3

92 A665aac
Arbley, Mme. Frances d'
Diary and letters of
Madame d'Arbley

92 A665aac

v.3

Hunt Library
Carnegie-Mellon University
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY



138 437

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY